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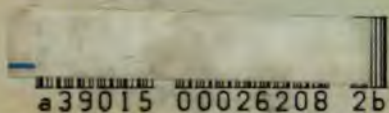
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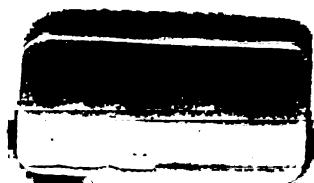
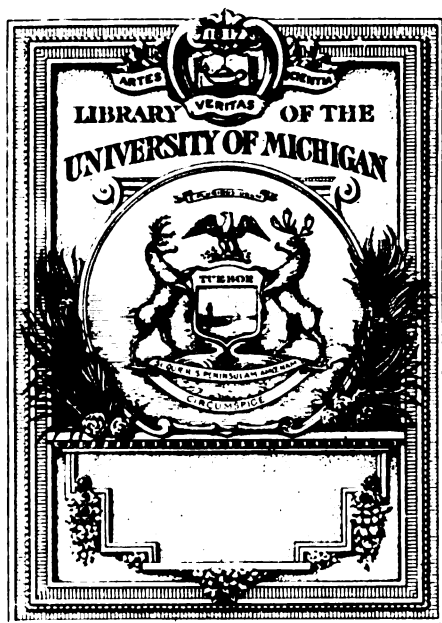
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THE HISTORY  
OF  
P R U S S I A.

BY  
CAPTAIN W. J. WYATT.

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VOL. II.

p. 2.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
PRUSSIA:

2445-CC

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

TRACING THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT  
OF HER  
MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

BY  
CAPTAIN W. J. WYATT,

AUTHOR OF  
'ORGANIZATION OF ARMIES,' 'AUSTRO-ITALIAN WAR,' 'REVOLUTIONARY SHADOWS,'  
'HUNGARIAN CELEBRITIES,' ETC. ETC.

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VOL. I. A.D. 700-1390.

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# HISTORY OF PRUSSIA.

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## CHAPTER I.

**A.D. 1390—1393.**

**Conrad von Wallenrod made Stadtholder (1390)—Invasion of Lithuania—Siege of Wilna—Wallenrod elected Grand Master (1391)—Second Invasion of Lithuania—Border Warfare—Intrigues of Vitold—His Reconciliation with Jagello—The Reformed Movement in Prussia under Doctor Leander—Wallenrod sides with the Priests—Death of Leander—Persecution of his Disciples—Dobrin and the Neumark offered to the Order by Sigismund (1392)—Another Invasion of Lithuania—Defeat and Retreat of the Knights—Untimely Death of the Grand Master (1393).**

ON the death of the Grand Master, Conrad Zöllner, in 1390, the Grand Comthur, Conrad von Wallenrod, was appointed Stadtholder. The position of the Order was at this time very critical, but fortunately it had able counsellors.

Up to the death of the late Grand Master, both Poland and the Order were straining every nerve to make ample preparations for the ensuing campaign. Jagello had gained over to his side John, Duke of Masovia, and Duke Wladislaus of Oppeln,

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together with the Duke Wratislaus of Pomerania. The latter had not only concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Jagello, but he had also declared himself and his brothers, Boguslaus and Barnim, vassals of the King of Poland.

This alliance was a great blow to the Order and the Margrave of Brandenburg; for it was through Pomerania that most of the reinforcements of Crusaders passed on their way to the scene of hostilities in East Prussia. The merchants of Brandenburg and Prussia were also sufferers, as the Pomeranian Duke would not allow the route from Stettin to be used by them. The only allies that the Order could count upon were Sigismund, Duke Semowit of Masovia, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia.

The Earl of Derby, at this critical juncture, arrived with his knights, and it seems he was afterwards joined by a considerable number of Scottish Crusaders, in addition to whom numerous German and French nobles had repaired to the scene of hostilities. Unfortunately a dispute arose between the English and Scottish knights, ending in a broil, in which a member of the house of Douglas lost his life. Scarcely had peace been made between the parties when another quarrel took place between the representatives of France and England. The Stadtholder, fearing that these petty jealousies might cause the break up of the army of Crusaders, determined to lead them at once against the Lithuanians.

Having effected a concentration of all his available forces at Kauen, he advanced against the town of Troky, which soon fell into his hands, and Skirgallo, Jagello's brother, who does not appear to have had a large force with him, was defeated. The knights and their allies thereupon commenced the siege of Wilna. The garrison and the inhabitants of the town offered a most stubborn resistance, but part of the castle, owing to an act of treachery, was burnt down, and 14,000 people lost their lives—Carigal, Vitold's brother, and Prince Narimant being taken prisoners. The remaining portion of the citadel successfully resisted the attacks of the knights. In accordance with the military usages of the time, the two princes ought to have been released on ransom, but both were put to death. Vitold sentenced his elder brother to be beheaded, and ordered Prince Narimant to be suspended from a tree by his feet, and shot at with arrows until he expired.

After three months occupied in unsuccessful attempts to capture the citadel, their losses, coupled with the want of provisions, compelled the allies to withdraw and return to Prussia. Vitold behaved in a most barbarous manner towards his countrymen, with the object, according to some, of weakening their opposition to his schemes of subjugation, by the terror his name would inspire; added to which was the desire to avenge his brother's death before Wilna.

The Order and their allies appear, however, to

have arrived in Prussia, bringing with them a considerable quantity of booty. The greatest loss which they experienced was the death of Alard, Count of Hohenstein, who fell during the siege. Vitold took up his winter quarters at Insterburg and Ragnit, and thence undertook an expedition into Samogitia, but was obliged to retire, as Jagello suddenly advanced against him with an overwhelming force.

In the year 1391, on the great festival of St. Jude, in a Chapter consisting of 300 brothers, Conrad von Wallenrod was raised to the dignity of Grand Master. He had previously been Marshal in 1384, Grand Comthur since 1387, and Stadtholder for the past year. Shortly after his election Von Wallenrod marched against the Lithuanians, accompanied by Vitold, who expected to obtain possession of Wilna by treachery. In this he was disappointed ; but the Grand Master totally defeated Skirgallo, capturing the forts of Novgorod and Wilkomirz, which had been recently erected by him. Great dissatisfaction was now aroused in Lithuania against this prince, partly on account of his defeat, partly owing to the incorporation of Lithuania with Poland. An important feature in the aggressive policy of Von Wallenrod was the fomenting of disunion among the Lithuanian princes, in which his efforts were attended by much success. He also endeavoured, by offering high pay, to raise a large number of mercenary troops. During this

time Vitold was ordered to despatch frequent marauding bands into Lithuania, and, in order to afford them places of refuge, three fortresses were built on the islands of the Memel, namely, Neuenburg, Nettenburg, and Ritterswerder. By order of Skirgallo, Ritterswerder, which was occupied by Vitold, was unsuccessfully attacked by Prince Wigand, who, in the course of the siege, was himself poisoned. Some attributed his untimely end to Vitold, by whom he was regarded as a most dangerous rival. As Skirgallo, on account of his unpopularity, had been removed from his government to the town of Kiew, Vitold now entered into negotiations with Jagello, through the medium of his nephew Henry (son of Semowit, Duke of Masovia), offering to break off his alliance with the knights, on condition of his receiving the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. With the aid of his numerous followers he was then enabled treacherously to make prisoners of all the knights and retainers who were serving under him. After destroying the strongholds which had been entrusted to his guardianship, he returned to Lithuania, pursued by the garrisons of the two remaining forts on the islands. Vitold, having secured his prisoners and booty in a safe place, took up a position which commanded the mountain passes, and there surprised and totally routed his pursuers. He now entered Wilna, where he was received with great rejoicings by the people. Henry, the negotiator of these nefarious transac-

tions, although a priest, demanded in marriage Vitold's daughter, who was renowned for her beauty; but he was ultimately induced to accept a bishopric in lieu of the lady.

The losses which the Poles had experienced in maintaining Jagello's authority in Poland rendered them unwilling to make further sacrifices. It was therefore a great advantage to that prince to form an alliance with Vitold, whose military talents would enable him to withstand the Order in Lithuania. Having secured Vitold's support, Jagello now despatched ambassadors to the different European ports to intrigue against the Order. Unfortunately for the latter, their story was but too true, for no one could deny that Jagello had done his utmost to convert his subjects to Christianity, and that the knights were not actuated by the principles they professed, as they were doing their best forcibly to annex his native country by fomenting intestine strife. This caused those who had aided the knights from the belief that they were the warrior-monks of Christ to waver in their allegiance to the Order; and the only support on which the knights could now rely was from mercenaries. In Vitold they had lost one of their most able partisans. Nothing daunted at such a blow, they induced Swidrigail to revolt, and with his assistance took possession of Grodno and some other districts, together with 3,000 Lithuanians, who were brought captives into Prussia.

To ensure the adherence of the bishops and priests, the Grand Master allowed them to pursue a series of persecutions against those who would not implicitly accept their religious teaching. We formerly mentioned the fact that the Order was not very orthodox as regards the peculiar dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. It would be idle to suppose that the members of the Teutonic Order, by their residence in foreign countries and their knowledge of Papal policy in the East, should not have arrived at the conclusion that it was dangerous for any State, that desired to retain its sovereign powers, to seek priestly assistance in temporal matters. A certain Leander, a follower of the Albanian faith, had been taken under the protection of Wallenrod, who, as Grand Master, had allowed him openly to proclaim his doctrines; and, in a very short time, the reformer had gained a large number of proselytes. The Grand Master decided to forsake his former favourite for the purpose of obtaining the support of the priests. The principal charge laid against Leander was his condemnation of the monks for the indolent life they led. He sent to his opponents a declaration of his religious opinions, and challenged any one to come forward and publicly controvert them; and the challenge was accepted. This act of audacity forced the Grand Master to make some show of fair play, and he therefore decided that Marienwerder should be the scene of this theological discussion. On the way to the town



Leander was upset by his driver, and, falling into a clay-pit, was killed. His followers maintained that this act was committed at the instigation of the priests. The latter, not contented with the death of their opponent, formed themselves into a religious synod, for the purpose of trying any person who had attached himself to the reformed movement; and the court was allowed to summon all those who were known to have favoured Leander to appear before it. Nor was this all, for they actually ordered the bodies of deceased proselytes to be taken from their graves, and to be reinterred by the hangman in the place allotted to felons.

About this time the citizens of the town of Braunsberg, being greatly discontented with the conduct of their bishop, Heinrich Sorbaum, applied privately to the Grand Master, requesting that they should be placed under the immediate protection of the Order. To ingratiate himself with the priestly party, Von Wallenrod communicated to the bishop the request of his rebellious subjects. A revolt broke out, and the bishop narrowly escaped being killed. The knights put down the insurrection by force, and compelled the town to pay 2,000 Hungarian florins as a fine; while the burgomaster, to save his life, had to appear before the bishop, barefooted and kneeling, with a rope round his neck.

By these conciliatory measures the Grand Master induced the bishops and clergy to consent to the payment of an income-tax, together with a poll-tax,

which was to be devoted to the payment of the mercenaries.

The cost of the approaching campaign was estimated at the sum of 500,000 marks. This sum having been collected, the Grand Master despatched agents to all parts of Europe to enlist mercenaries, and was profuse in his promises of reward for services rendered.

Before the beginning of the war, the Grand Master experienced the usual consequences of having sacrificed his temporal power to the priests. The first dignitary who opposed him was Bishop Heinrich Sorbaum, whom he had lately reinstated. He had ordered the bishop to supply him with sufficient labour for fortifying the towns of Salon, Memel, Wohnsdorf, and Ragnit; a request to which Heinrich declined to accede. The ruler of the Order, not wishing to have a dispute with the prelate as to the extent of his public privileges, himself ordered the labourers to discontinue their employment, and to proceed to work on the fortifications. He also despatched a body of soldiers into the bishopric, with orders to cut off the right hand and foot of any one who should refuse to obey his commands. By this high-handed measure he obtained upwards of 1,000 labourers.

The Grand Master, having been informed that the Archbishop of Riga intended to deliver into the hands of the Russians and Lithuanians some of the archiepiscopal castles in Liefland, ordered them to

be occupied by his soldiery. Thereupon the archbishop fled to the Court of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, who, believing that the former had been unjustly treated, ordered all the property of the Order in Bohemia and Moravia to be confiscated. The Grand Master, however, proved by a letter of the archbishop's of which he had got possession, that the latter was really in secret correspondence with the Lithuanians, and the King cancelled the decree.

In the month of May, 1392, an envoy arrived at Marienburg with the offer on the part of Sigismund, King of Hungary, to sell or pledge the Neumark for the sum of 500,000 gulden; but the Grand Master declined to buy the province until the King was in a position to guarantee it against certain claims on the part of either the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Görlitz, brother of Sigismund, or the Duke of Moravia, son of the Emperor Charles IV. The King of Hungary's envoy also offered to sell to the Order the districts of Dobrin and Cujavia. But here again the claims of the King of Poland and Duke Wladislaus of Oppeln prevented any satisfactory arrangement being made. A little later, however, Duke Wladislaus pledged to the Order the district of Itaria for the sum of 6,632 Hungarian florins. This transaction led to a further loan, by which Dobrin and its districts became the property of the knights.

The news of these negotiations greatly alarmed the King of Poland; for he had just concluded an

alliance with the King of Hungary, and, being fully aware of the treacherous character and the financial difficulties of Sigismund, he felt convinced that these arrangements were nothing else than the preliminary to an offensive and defensive alliance against himself.

During these transactions the recruiting agents of the Grand Master had been so successful that no less than 46,000 mercenaries arrived in Prussia. The Grand Master had besides at his disposal 18,000 men, and with these, in the year 1393, he advanced against the Lithuanians. On reaching the island, not far from Kauén, the site of the old Marienwerder, which had been destroyed by Vitold, the Grand Master carried out a promise he had made of entertaining twelve of the most distinguished knights at a feast. A magnificent tent was erected on the island; on one side of the river was drawn up the army of the Order under its Marshal, and on the opposite bank that of the foreigners under the Grand Comthur. The curtains of the tent were taken down, so that the soldiers could see the banquet, and a broad hat embroidered with gold was held over the head of each of the guests during the repast, to protect him from the sun. The first of these distinguished knights was an Austrian named Kinodius, of Richardsdorf, who had performed the wondrous feat of slaying sixty Turks with his own hand, and had also made a crusade to Jerusalem. Frederick, Margrave of Meissen, had

the second place of honour, in consideration of the protection always afforded by him and his family to the interests of the Order. Among the other guests was a Scotch nobleman, for the heroic conduct of his father in nobly sacrificing his life to save that of his king; Count Rupert of Würtemberg, in consideration of his humility in declining the dignity of emperor, because, in the interests of the Order, he had renounced his desire to marry the rich and beautiful Countess of Hapsburg; Degenhard, a standard-bearer from Westphalia, because he had forgiven the assassins of his father in obedience to a vision; and Frederick of Buchwold, of whom it is said that he never refused a request made in the name of the Order of St. George. The repast commenced at nine o'clock in the morning, and lasted until two in the afternoon; thirty courses were served up, on silver, the knives and forks being of the same metal; the wines, of the most costly kind, were presented to the guests in silver goblets ornamented with gold. During the feast heralds came forward and proclaimed the deeds of the guests, and descanted on the treacherous conduct of Vitold, declaring that, to ensure the triumph of the Crusaders, the banner of the Order must float on the citadel of Wilna.

The Grand Master now returned to Prussia to superintend the organization of fresh reinforcements, while the army continued its advance. The Crusaders, however, had forgotten that, from the

constant inroads which they had made into Lithuania, a great tract of land over which they had to pass before reaching Wilna had been so devastated, that it was totally unable to support their numerous forces. Notwithstanding, in the belief that their numbers would overcome all difficulties, they commenced the siege of Wilna. Vitold, who wisely offered no opposition to their advance, directed his immediate attention to the organizing of a large army among his own subjects, which he reinforced by numerous levies of Russians, Tartars, and Poles. For some time he contented himself with cutting off all the sources from which the knights could obtain supplies. Learning that his opponents were in urgent want of provisions, he advanced to the attack, the Polish garrison of Wilna supporting him by a general sortie. A disastrous defeat ensued, and the Order was compelled to retire, with a loss of 30,000 men. The remnants retreated to Prussia, but the foresight of the Grand Master, in raising fresh levies, enabled him shortly to undertake a series of small expeditions into Lithuania, Vitold in retaliation making an inroad into the district of Insterburg.

The failure of this campaign and other troubles had such an effect on the mind of the Grand Master that he shortly afterwards lost his reason, and died on the 25th of July, 1393.

Wallenrod was a stern and determined ruler, and at the same time a crafty politician. His prede-

cessor had, in his opinion, given too much authority into the hands of the guilds of the towns. In order to curtail their rising power, Wallenrod built suburbs to the towns, in which he placed Courlanders, Lithuanians, and Poles, who received the same rights of citizenship as those possessed by the Germans. This naturally led to jealousies; and there can be but little doubt that he secretly did his utmost to undermine the power of the priests and monks, although he did not scruple to proclaim publicly that he ruled by *Gottesgnade*, or "Divine right." During his government the territory of the knights was extended, both by purchase and by force of arms, and the influence of the Order throughout Germany was increased considerably.

## CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1393—1407.

Election of Conrad von Jungingen (1393)—Increased Taxation—Resistance of the Guilds—Affairs of Denmark and Sweden—Battle of Falköping—Capture of Gothland by Pirates (1397)—The Grand Master undertakes to Protect the Neumark for Sigismund—Peace with Vitold—Samogitia Subjugated—Visit of the Grand Duchess Vitold to Marienburg (1400)—Second Marriage of Jagello (1401)—Invasion of Prussia—Vitold Defeated—Purchase of the Neumark (1403)—Expedition to Gothland (1404)—Trade with England—English Deputation at Marienburg—Treaty of Reciprocity—Interview of the Grand Master with Jagello—Death of Von Jungingen (1407).

THE knights now elected as their chief Conrad von Jungingen, who had formerly been the Campan of Conrad Zöllner of Rotenstein. The first act of the new Grand Master was to endeavour, with the assistance of the ecclesiastics, to continue for one year the additional taxes which his predecessor had levied, to furnish funds for the prosecution of the Lithuanian war; but so violent was the opposition to his proposal that he had to abandon the idea of continuing hostilities. The guilds being the chief opponents of increased taxa-



tion, the Grand Master enlarged the privileges of the mechanics and labourers. He issued an edict against the abuse of luxuries; citizens were forbidden to have the direction or management of the artillery in time of peace. Every knight was allowed to have ten horses for his use, and a Comthur one hundred. To counteract the concessions made by his predecessor to the priestly party, Von Jungingen enacted that no ecclesiastic could become a bishop unless he were a member of the Order.

From a statute punishing heathen priests with death by fire, it would seem that some remnants of the ancient religion were still in existence.

To prevent commercial frauds, a class of custom-house officers was instituted about this time, who had to determine on oath the value of all articles of commerce.

We now return to the relations between Denmark and Sweden. The throne of Sweden, after several years of war, was formally handed over to Albrecht, by King Magnus, in the year 1371. The Swedes, however, were dissatisfied with Albrecht, who favoured his German countrymen at their expense, and on the death of Waldemar, King of Denmark, in 1376, they offered the crown of Sweden to that monarch's daughter Margaret, who had married Haymin, King of Norway, in 1363.\* This naturally

\* Margaret, Queen of Denmark, by the death of her husband Haymin, became regent over Norway for her son Olaus, who died in the year 1387, when the Danes acknowledged Margaret as

led to war between Albrecht and Margaret; and in the great battle of Falköping, in 1388, the Queen's forces were successful, and Albrecht and his son were taken prisoners. By the victory of Falköping the naval power of Denmark was greatly increased.

The ports Rostock and Wismar, always jealous of Danish supremacy, informed the Grand Master that they would not permit Prussian vessels to supply the Danes with munitions of war, but also promised him not to commit acts of violence, and to forego molesting Prussian vessels trading with Denmark and Sweden. At their instigation, however, a numerous piratical fleet was soon assembled, which not only revictualled Stockholm, then besieged by the royal troops, but captured Gothland,\* and fortified Wisby, which latter they made their head-quarters, so that the Prussian trader no longer dared appear alone in the open sea. The Prussian Hanseatic towns, in conjunction with Lubeck, expressed a willingness to pay a good ransom if Margaret would release King Albrecht, conclude a peace with him, and indemnify Prussian traders

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their queen. In 1396 the States General of the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark assembled at Calmar, where it was agreed that they should all be ruled by one and the same sovereign. This act was called the "Calmar Union," on which occasion Margaret designated Eric as her successor. She died in November, 1411.

\* This island had been mortgaged by Albrecht to the Grand Master Von Rotenstein for 20,000 dabloons.

for the losses they had experienced. Margaret declining these proposals, all intercourse with Danish ports was broken off.

In 1394 the Grand Master, Conrad von Jungingen, reopened negotiations with Duke John of Mecklenburg and Queen Margaret for the release of the King of Sweden, and for the renewal of commercial relations between the Prussian and Danish ports. It was arranged that the Prussian and Hanseatic towns should first demand from the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the towns of Rostock and Wismar, a satisfactory compensation for all the losses which their traders had experienced at their hands, and that, this being effected, the Duke should be invited to join in requesting the Queen to release the King of Sweden on ransom; and further, it was proposed that the town of Stockholm should be held by the Hanseatic Confederation until the King had repaid his ransom money. To this the towns and the Duke agreed, and in the month of July their representative met those of the Queen at Helsingfors.

Here the Queen's envoy stated that Margaret was willing to release Albrecht on parole for a limited period, sufficient to enable him to arrange a durable peace, failing which, the King and his son must give themselves up to the Danish authorities, or pay the Queen the sum of 60,000 marks, eight of the Hanseatic towns being responsible for the King. Unfortunately, before the peace could be signed, a violent dispute arose between some of the Germans

and Danes, which ended in bloodshed, and caused the break up of the conference.

Wratislaus, Duke of Pomerania, an opponent of the Order, died about this time, and the Grand Master concluded a treaty with his successor, Duke Barnim, by which he secured the right of passage through the Duke's territory. At the commencement of the year 1396 the conference of Helsingfors was renewed. The King of Sweden was released, and Stockholm was occupied by the Hanseatic towns. In the same year, the Duke of Geldern having arrived in Prussia, the Grand Master, in defiance of Sigismund, invaded Lithuania; but an accumulation of snow which had taken place forced the Crusaders to retire. The Duke seems to have undertaken this expedition in consideration of a loan of 6,000 nobles from the Grand Master. Shortly after this Duke John of Görlitz died, and the Neumark fell to the inheritance of Sigismund, at whose request the Grand Master undertook to defend that province from external attack.

During this period disputes again arose between the Order and the Archbishop of Riga, which were, however, finally settled at the conference of Dantzic. Swidrigail, who had taken refuge in Prussia, with the assistance of the knights now invaded Lithuania from Liefland, and got possession of the stronghold of Vitepsk, but was shortly after defeated and made prisoner by Vitold, and the expedition collapsed. Both parties being now weary of the struggle, a

peace was proposed and concluded between the Grand Master and Vitold, who were thus enabled—the latter to extend his conquests in Russia, and the former to direct his energies to the acquisition of Gothland and the Neumark. Having equipped a large fleet, on board of which were 4,000 men, the Grand Master, in conjunction with some vessels from Lubeck, the whole being commanded by Conrad von Biberau, proceeded to Gothland, where he destroyed a piratical fleet, and captured the greater part of the island. The expedition then proceeded along the coasts of Sweden and Denmark, seizing and destroying several other vessels, amongst them some Danish ships, which had been despatched, as the Queen afterwards alleged, on their way to Gothland to assist the Prussian fleet.

All the Prussians could urge in their defence was, that the Danish vessels were confounded with piratical cruisers, and so destroyed, the pirates being in the habit of hoisting the colours of foreign nations. After this the knights appear to have reshipped their men from Gothland, and to have returned to Prussia.

Eric of Gothland having died, his mother handed the government of Gothland over to a certain Swen Sture, who became the open protector of the pirates, and even shared their plunder. The King of Sweden was first of all urged to eject the pirates and restore order, but, he being unable or unwilling to do this, the Grand Master called upon Duke John of Meck-

lenburg to assist him in freeing the Baltic from the scourge; and in the month of March, 1397, a fleet of eighty vessels, having on board between 4,000 and 5,000 men, together with the necessary artillery, set sail from Dantzic for Gothland, where they landed. The pirates, under Swen Sture, now took forcible possession of the citadel of Wisby, where the Duke of Mecklenburg and the mother of Eric resided.

As a heavy fall of snow prevented the artillery being brought up to effect a breach, negotiations were opened with the pirates through the medium of the Duke of Mecklenburg, during which the town and citadel were completely surrounded by the knights, by land and sea. A general assault then took place, and the pirates and their accomplices were slaughtered without mercy, their captain, with 400 of his followers, however, managing to escape. The Duke of Mecklenburg now agreed that the island should be handed over to four Prussian commissioners, who should conduct its government until the Order had come to a regular understanding with the King of Sweden.

The Baltic pirates having next made Friesland the basis of their operations, and the trade with Norway being at a standstill, the Lubeckers and the Order now set about a second expedition; but the Grand Master found the greatest difficulty in raising the necessary funds, for his Gothland policy had compelled him every year to increase the taxation of his subjects.

Queen Margaret of Denmark had viewed with extreme jealousy the occupation of Gothland by the Order, and the rise of their naval power, and she was believed to be in secret negotiations with the pirate commandant of that island for its cession to her—a scheme which was frustrated by the final capture of Gothland by the Order, to which, on the 25th of May, 1399, the entire island was handed over by Albrecht, who received for the transfer the sum of 10,000 nobles.

It was agreed that, should any future King of Denmark wish to regain possession of Gothland, he was to [pay the Order the sum of 30,000 nobles, with a year's notice in advance. In case the notice were given, but the money not paid, the Order might dispose of the island to any other State. Albrecht and Duke John of Mecklenburg were co-signatories to this treaty. Margaret, considering that Gothland belonged to her dominions, on hearing of the arrangement with Albrecht, protested against it; and the Grand Master, declaring his willingness to cede the island in accordance with the compact he had entered into with Albrecht, called upon the latter to come to an amicable settlement with Margaret as to her claims.

The Grand Master was also, at this time, engaged in a difference with the King of Poland, concerning the districts of Dobrin, which Jagello declared belonged to him; and Conrad von Jungingen expressed his readiness to cede the territory in dispute,

if the Duke of Oppeln's consent could be obtained, and the money for which it had been pledged were repaid.

Henry IV. of England, who ascended the throne on the deposition of Richard II., in 1399, despatched ambassadors to Marienburg, shortly after his accession, to renew friendly relations with Prussia.

Pope Boniface IX. at this period was a great patron of the Order, and Sigismund, King of Hungary, who was adverse to the increasing power of Poland and to Margaret, also maintained friendly relations with it; and it may be presumed that this needy monarch had already received pecuniary assistance from the Grand Master.

With the aid of the Pope, Charles the Bold, Duke of Lorraine, at the head of 200 knights, about this time proceeded to Prussia, where he was joined by Duke William of Geldern, who however, on account of ill-health, was obliged to return to Germany. The Marshal, Werner von Tettingen, assumed the command of the army, and advanced into Samogitia, from Ragnit, in February, 1400. Here the Crusaders devastated the country for twelve days; and the unfortunate inhabitants, being totally unprepared for the attack, were terrified into submission, and embraced Christianity. By these means the greater part of Samogitia was annexed, and we are told that the Duke of Lorraine and his followers returned loaded with presents and plunder.

In the month of July the Grand Duchess



Vitold visited the different shrines in Prussia, and was entertained with great splendour at Marienburg.

The forcible annexation of Samogitia was a measure highly unjustifiable in many ways. A characteristic of the people was their love of independence and attachment to their ancient religion. Many of the inhabitants, to escape the yoke of the knights, had taken refuge in Lithuania, and the Order demanded that Vitold should send them back, in accordance with the treaty. This he only partially carried out; but at last, being pressed, he collected all the Samogitians, and ordered them to return to their native country, following up this step by sending letters of justification to the Pope and all the German princes, and the Grand Master did the same. Conrad, knowing that, should war break out with Vitold, it was highly necessary to have the King of Poland on his side, did his utmost to conciliate the latter by presents, and by assurances of the friendship of the Order. The Grand Master knew that, if Jagello and Vitold remained united, all the external assistance he could depend upon would be that of mercenary leaders, and the favour of the Pope depended on his being able to outbid Jagello. Added to this, Margaret of Denmark would take advantage of hostilities to force the Order to cede Gothland to her.

Unfortunately for the Order, Sigismund, who had been defeated in the great battle of Nicopolis

against the Turks (in 1396), had been imprisoned by the nobles in the castle of Siklos.

Jagello, who had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Russian prince John von Twer and the Duke of Masovia, now began sending reinforcements into Lithuania; and the Grand Master to counteract this opened negotiations with Swidrigail, who possessed considerable influence amongst the Podolians, Wallachians, and Russians, and raised mercenaries in Pomerania and in various parts of Germany.

Jagello, suspecting that he was not sufficiently strong at once to begin the struggle, despatched Duke Semowit to Marienburg, in September, 1401, to reassure the Order of his friendship, and to induce the Grand Master to suspend his military preparations; but this the latter declined to do until the King had given substantial guarantees of his peaceful intentions. It is probable that Jagello's real reason for wishing to postpone the outbreak of war was his approaching marriage with the daughter of Count Hermann von Celly, a grand-daughter of Casimir, and whom, although frightfully ugly, he had selected as his queen on account of her legal claim to the crown.\*

Vitold was also unwilling to commence hostilities, as he was at that time unsuccessful in a war with the Duke of Smolensk, a Russian prince in alliance

\* The Queen Hedwig had died broken-hearted in the year 1399.

with Swidrigail, indirectly assisted by the Order. In the month of November Swidrigail, who had been invited to attend the marriage ceremony of Jagello, appeared in the disguise of a merchant at Marienburg, to conclude a regular alliance with the Grand Master. He was received with open arms, and his visit to Prussia was celebrated by two inroads into Lithuania. Vitold, with all his nobles and principal retainers, being absent at Cracow, to assist at the marriage of Jagello, and the people being taken by surprise, the knights returned to Prussia laden with plunder, cattle, and many hundred prisoners.

About this time Swidrigail concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Order, and ceded to it a large portion of his territory, on the condition that the Order should assist him to the utmost in obtaining Lithuania. In this document he styles himself "Heir and Prince of Lithuania and Russia, and ruler of Podolia."

This Lithuanian prince now repaired to Liefland to prepare for an expedition against Vitold; but the operations were delayed by Jagello's having for the time being obtained the favour of the Pope, and by the appearance of a comet, which passed over Europe in the March of 1402, and which was supposed to forebode disaster. The Grand Master, moreover, knew that if he invaded Lithuania, the Pope and Europe would declare that he was the instrument of evil.

In the month of May the Samogitians took by surprise the town of Memel, which they sacked and set on fire, and Vitold appearing with a large force before Gotteswerder, which he took and burnt, Conrad ordered the immediate invasion of Lithuania, and the knights, with an army of 40,000 men, in conjunction with Swidrigail, crossed the river Wilna, where they defeated Vitold. Little or no opposition seems to have been offered by the inhabitants, who had retired to the towns and fortresses. These being so well defended that the knights did not venture to attack them, the army was compelled to return to Prussia, and Swidrigail took up a position at the fort of Baiselauken (Beeslack), for the purpose of instigating a revolt in Lithuania, aided by the funds abundantly supplied by the Order.

Margaret, Queen of Denmark, had at this time renewed her claims on Gothland, with such pertinacity as foreshadowed her intention of obtaining her demands by force of arms. In this dilemma the Grand Master referred the dispute to the Hanseatic Bund, but, fortunately for the Order, an event now took place which forced Margaret to change her demeanour for a time.

After the death of Margaret's son Olaus, in 1387, it had been rumoured that he had been poisoned at her instigation. Some Danish merchants, passing through a village near Graudenz, encountered a poor man who bore a most striking resemblance to

the deceased prince. On being questioned he denied being in any way connected with the royal family, but, when several other persons declared positively that they recognized him as Olaus, he affirmed that sixteen years before his mother had ordered him to be poisoned, but that another person had been the victim, and that he had fled from his country. The pretender was taken to Dantzic, where he was treated with great distinction, and openly acknowledged as King of Denmark and Norway.

Margaret, fearing that the Grand Master might follow the example of the Dantzigers, requested that the pretender should be sent to Denmark, so that she might hear his story in person.

Von Jungingen, seeing that, if he granted such an important favour, Margaret would probably come to an arrangement with him as to Gothland, sent the pretender, under the escort of several knights, to the Queen, where, on being examined, it was found he could not speak the Danish language, and he himself owned that he was a native of Eger, in Bohemia, and that his father was named Wolf and his mother Margaret. He was taken to Schonen, where he was burnt alive, together with all the papers to which he had affixed his signature as king.

The Grand Master was deceived in his expectations as regards Margaret's generosity, for, as soon as the pretender was out of the way, she threatened

the Order with a declaration of war if Gothland was not given up.

Sigismund, who had now returned to power, was, as usual, in great want of money, and he offered to sell the Neumark unconditionally to the Order, stating that it had been pledged to the King of Poland, and that, if the sum was not repaid within a very short time, he must deliver the province over to Jagello. It was impossible for the Grand Master to allow this to take place, and accordingly, in the month of July, the Order purchased the Neumark for the sum of 63,000 Hungarian gulden, on condition of its being restored to Sigismund or Wenceslaus, or to the Margrave Jobst of Moravia, on the repayment of the above-mentioned sum; and the same condition was extended to the children or heirs of Sigismund during his life and that of the other two princes. If the province was not redeemed during the period of these lives, the territory should remain for ever in the possession of the knights. All expenses incurred in improving the condition of the country had to be repaid, to the amount of 1,500 marks. Stybor, Waiwode of Transylvania, represented the Emperor in this transaction.

In 1403 three successful expeditions were made into Lithuania by the knights and Count Frederick of Zollern, Comthur of Ragnit.

In the same year the Pope issued a Bull reprimanding the Order, in severe terms, for their

conduct towards Poland and Lithuania. At an interview which took place between the Grand Master and the King of Poland at Christmas, Swidrigail was reconciled to the King, and it was agreed that another meeting should take place at Whitsuntide of the ensuing year, when all disputes were to be settled.

As the Grand Master had been unable to induce Albrecht to treat with the Queen, and the period having elapsed which she had prescribed for the settlement of the dispute, her fleet took possession of Gothland, suffering a defeat, however, while attempting to take Wisby.

The Grand Master sent an expedition to the island, but on approaching the shore the knights found that it had entirely fallen into the hands of the Queen's forces. They, however, captured and brought into the port of Dantzic seven Danish vessels laden with plunder from Gothland.

In the month of March, 1404, another expedition was despatched to Gothland. After landing an army of 15,000 men, consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, the fleet blockaded the island, and the knights proceeded to besiege one of the three forts erected by the Danes. The defenders made a most stubborn resistance, so that, their supply of powder running short, the knights found themselves, at Whitsuntide, forced to conclude an armistice for three weeks, in order to enter into fresh negotiations. Margaret, insisting on the unconditional

cession of the island, equipped a fleet at Calmar, with the necessary troops for the relief of the beleaguered territory; but the knights boldly attacked the Danish fleet, the greater part of which they either captured or destroyed. Margaret now, having lost 200 vessels and a large number of her best sailors in attempting to maintain her supremacy in the island, expressed her willingness to come to terms with the Grand Master; and in the month of July, with the mediation of the Burgomaster of Lubeck and his town council, a fresh armistice was arranged between the contending parties, during which negotiations were to be opened either at Schonor or Calmar.

In the same year a fresh peace was concluded with Vitold and Jagello, through the mediation of Swidrigail, Vitold undertaking to restore all the captured districts; and it was further stipulated that, if the Polish and Prussian commissioners could not decide as to the right of proprietorship of the territory of Dobrin, the question was to be left to the decision of Sigismund. No sooner was this treaty concluded than fresh difficulties arose with Duke Stolpe of Pomerania, with reference to his claims on the Neumark.

At this time the fortress of Driesen, being claimed as a fief by both Poland and the Order, gave rise to a dispute with Poland. Notwithstanding that the river Netze was regarded by the Order as the frontier of the Neumark, Driesen, which by the cutting



of a dam was converted into an island, was claimed by the Poles; there can, however, be little doubt that it had been successively under the rule of both countries.

A great hindrance to the trade between England and Prussia was the opposition of the Prussian manufacturers to the importation of English cloth, which was far cheaper than the native article. So great was the jealousy of the Prussian traders in this respect, that it was enacted that all English stuffs should be confiscated.

Robert III. of Scotland, who was then engaged in a war with England, was constantly supplied by the Prussians with provisions and munitions of war. King Henry, in a letter dated Westminster, December 7, 1404, besought the Grand Master, as an ally, to forbid this traffic; his request was, however, disregarded. Subsequently two Prussian embassies appear to have been despatched to England, but the demands of the Order were so exorbitant that Henry could not accede to them. The Grand Master accordingly not only prohibited trade with England, but also confiscated all English goods, and expelled such of our countrymen in Dantzic who were not naturalized. He also forbade any Englishman from acquiring the rights of citizenship in Prussia. Not content with these severe measures, Von Jungingen induced the Hanseatic Confederation and the Poles to join him in this restrictive policy. The King of England seems to have

been forced to come to terms, for we find that in August, 1405, a deputation, consisting of William Brampton and others, came to Marienburg, bringing with them a letter from Henry, dated May 11, 1405, in which he says:—

“ Lites ortæ inter nos, ligeos et subditos nostros, et illos de Prusia et alios dicti Magistri subditos quoscumque ratione vel occasione arrestacionum navium et aliorum vasorum capcionum bonorum nomine marque sive reprisalium.”

In October, 1405, a treaty of reciprocity was concluded between Prussia and England; Englishmen were to enjoy the same rights as other foreigners in Prussia, and *vice versâ*. Certain restrictions were placed on the importation of English cloth. It was agreed that English commissioners should meet those of Prussia and their allies at Dordrecht, within the space of a year, for the settlement of the indemnification for the losses which the two contracting parties had inflicted on each other; should no satisfactory arrangement be made, English and Prussian traders should, within three months, return to their respective countries, taking with them their merchandise.

With the rest of Europe Prussia would have been able to carry on a flourishing trade, but the depredations of the pirates rendered the navigation of the Sound extremely dangerous. In fact, no ship was allowed to leave any part of Prussia alone, so that the expenses entailed in equipping the necessary

armed vessels to guard the merchantmen caused the profits of the traders to be seriously decreased.

Commerce with the neighbouring territories had greatly improved since the peace with Poland; and the greatest proof of the prosperity of the towns was their readiness to pay the increasing taxes.

About Whitsuntide the King of Poland, at an interview with the Grand Master, Von Jungingen, at Thorn, paid over to him the sum of 50,000 Hungarian gulden, for which Dobrin had been pledged, and 400 marks for Slotoria; the pledged districts thereupon returning to the original owners. The boundary of the Neumark was also more clearly defined.

During the years 1405, 1406, the plague was rife in Prussia, destroying a great number of the poorer classes.

At the commencement of the year 1407 the celebrated Persian Archbishop, John of Sulthanien, visited the Grand Master at Marienburg. For centuries before, various ecclesiastics had attempted to unite the chaos of sects which existed in the East. During the pontificate of John XXII. strenuous efforts had been made by him to induce the Patriarch of Armenia to assist in carrying out such a desirable object, but the jealousy of the Armenian Church offered insurmountable difficulties. The archbishop, prior to his visit to the Grand Master, had visited many foreign Courts to obtain their assistance in uniting the various Christian sects.

This prelate believed the time had arrived when the project could be again renewed with more prospect of success. He therefore requested the Grand Master to furnish him with a letter to the King of Cyprus, from which we give the following short extract:—

“Serenissimo magnificoque principi ac domino rege Cipriæ et Armeniæ domino nostro nobis in Christo dilecto: placeat vestre magnificentiæ denuo tractare cum patriarcha Armenorum et majoribus, ut se humilient, ad unionem festinent ac laborent.”

Conrad von Jungingen also gave him another letter to Mirza Miranschach, son of Tamerlane, in which he expressed his gratitude for the protection afforded to Christians in the East, and congratulated him on the success of his arms against the hitherto invincible Bajazet.

In another letter to Tamerlane the Grand Master informed that great warrior that his merchants would be treated in Prussia in the same hospitable manner as were all other foreign traders, and that the bearer of the letter had but one object, viz. the unification of the various Christian sects over which he ruled; and that, if he succeeded in his enterprise, Tamerlane's subjects would become far more peaceful.

As the Patriarch of Constantinople persecuted the nobles and persons attached to the Romish Church, the Grand Master entrusted the archbishop with a letter to Manuel II., the Greek Emperor, requesting him to protect the followers of the Catholic Faith

and listen to the proposals of the Archbishop of Sulthanien. The following epistle from the Grand Master to John the Presbyter shows that the prelate had brought some communication from the latter:—

“Serenissimo ac magnifico principi a regi abassie sive Presbytero Johanni, domino nostro nobis in Christo dilecto, exhilarati animo nobis jucundissima preconia de vestre majestatis statu et persona gratissime accepimus a venerabili patre fratre Johanne archiepiscopo Soltaniensi sive tocius orientis, qui, zelum vestrum et fervorem oraculo vive vocis nobis per ordinem preclare multipliciter peroravit, qualiter vestra magnificentia ad ecclesiam Catholicam et quod sinum amplissimum liberalitatis et clementiæ ad Christi fideles et ad nuncios sedis apostolicæ habeat ipsis munifice providendo et consultissime dirigendo.”

Some time after this occurrence the Grand Master, Conrad von Jungingen, felt his end approaching. He had long been suffering from a painful malady, which now threatened to prove fatal. Shortly before his death, Conrad summoned his principal councillors to his chamber, to deliberate as to the choice of a successor, and strongly advised them not to elect his brother Ulrich, who would, in all probability, embroil the Order in a war with Poland. The Grand Master breathed his last in the month of March, 1407, universally regretted.

Although peacefully inclined, Conrad von Jungingen appears to have been a man of great deter-

mination of character, and of a self-possession which never failed him under the most trying circumstances; whilst the success which attended his foreign policy entitles him to take rank amongst the most able statesmen of the day. During his rule the prosperity of all classes was greatly increased, although Prussia had suffered severely from terrible epidemics.

## CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1407—1410.

Election of Ulrich von Jungingen (1410)—Purchase of Driesen—Sale of Gothland to Denmark—Treaty with England—Sumptuary Laws—Negotiations with Jagello—Revolt in Samogitia—Outbreak of Hostilities—Victorious Advance of the Knights into Poland—Armistice Concluded—Decision of Wenceslaus and Sigismund—Protest of Jagello—The Polish Army advances into Prussia—Battle of Tannenberg (1410)—Defeat and Death of the Grand Master—Heinrich von Plauen appointed Stadtholder—Siege of Marienburg—Vigorous Defence of the Castle—Intrigues of Vitold—Jagello retires to Poland.

ON the death of Conrad von Jungingen, Werner von Tettingen was elected Stadtholder, and the Order obtained possession of Santok, which had been pledged by the King of Poland to the Knights of St. John. On the 29th of August, 1407, the Order elected Ulrich von Jungingen as Grand Master, without regard to the dying counsels of his brother Conrad, who was opposed to his succession. Ulrich had already distinguished himself in the war with the Samogitians, and since the year 1388 he had

been Companion of the Grand Master, Conrad Zöllner von Rotenstein.

In the year 1404 he was promoted to the high rank of Marshal, in which office he acquired a reputation for great military capacity.

The first act of the new Grand Master was to arrange for the final purchase of Driesen and its districts from Ulrich von der Ost, whose wife and cousin, Hans von der Ost, were parties to the agreement. Driesen was of value to the Order, as affording a good basis of operations in defence of the Neumark. The peaceful disposition of Ulrich's predecessor had produced such a laxity of discipline amongst the Teutonic Knights, that they were no longer regarded by the citizens of the larger towns with the same respect as formerly. For the purpose of restoring the former prestige of the Order, the Grand Master issued a series of edicts relating to the interior economy of the Order and the privileges of its members. Ulrich, in addition to these ordinances, renewed several of the civil laws of his predecessors, especially those concerning marriage without the sanction of relations. He prohibited turbulent assemblies, and enacted that members of the Order were not to be accompanied to the Chapter-house by more than ten retainers.

From these regulations it would appear that many knights led an extravagant life, and openly violated the statutes of the Order.

In order to avoid the possibility of war with



Denmark, which would probably have prevented the Grand Master from carrying out his reforms, and to be in a fit condition to defend himself against Poland, he sold the island of Gothland to Eric\* and Margaret of Denmark, for the sum of 9,000 English nobles.

The surrender of a maritime stronghold of such importance might seem a mistake on the part of the Order, but, on the contrary, it was a proof of the sagacity of the Grand Master, his object being to remain on friendly terms with all those States whose ships frequented Prussian ports. For this reason he followed up the surrender of Gothland by a treaty of reciprocity with England, which was highly advantageous to both countries, especially to England, which was then suffering from a succession of bad harvests, and was obliged to import corn from Prussia. These measures of the Grand Master prove that he really desired peace.

\* Eric XIII., son of the Duke of Pomerania, colleague and successor of Queen Margaret of Waldemar. He married, in 1410, Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. of England; and in 1412, on Margaret's death, became King of Denmark and Sweden. His incapacity, tyranny, and caprice so disgusted the Swedes and Danes, that both revolted. He became involved in a war with the Hanse towns; and the Danes chose for their king his nephew, Christopher, Duke of Bavaria, Eric being allowed to retain possession of the island of Gothland. In 1448 Eric's cruisers attempted to levy contributions on the Prussian flag; he was besieged in Wisby, whence he escaped, but was afterwards sent to the island of Rugen, where he ended his days.

One of the principal articles of the convention (1404) was, that the frontiers of the Neumark should remain unchanged. This appears by some oversight not to have been introduced in the final treaty, but it was shortly afterwards inserted by order of the King of Poland at Thorn.

This prince now pretended to have a ground of complaint against the Order in its purchase of Driesen, which transaction, he maintained, was a violation of the before-mentioned treaty, as Driesen was, properly speaking, a fief of Poland.

Polish writers state that in an audience which Jagello granted to the Comthur of Thorn, who came to present him with a letter from the late Grand Master, written shortly before his death, and to thank him for the respect he had shown to his memory, the Polish King not only declined to read the letter, but expressed his discontent with the occupation of Driesen. On the other hand, we find that the King of Poland invited the Grand Master to pay him a visit at Kauen, where he was most sumptuously entertained on the 6th of January, 1408. At this meeting the affairs of Santok and Driesen were discussed in the presence of the nobles of Poland and Prussia. As regards Driesen, Vitold was chosen arbitrator, and he pronounced in favour of the King of Poland. The Grand Master refused to accept the decision, and the meeting broke up, with the understanding that the disputes should be settled by some friendly arrangement.

The beginning of hostilities was caused by a rising of the Samogitians, who had only been induced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Order through the influence of Vitold, who had remained faithful to his engagements. This outbreak originated in the following manner. Vitold had undertaken an expedition against his son-in-law Basilius, who ruled in Reussen, and at his request the knights despatched a contingent to assist him; they also ordered a number of Samogitians to join Vitold's standard. This the Samogitians declined to do, for, being subjects of the knights, they wished to be supplied with horses and attached to the contingent of the Order. The knights, however, forced them to act as infantry, which was considered as a mark of inferiority. In revenge for this insult these people suddenly surprised and destroyed the rising town recently built at the junction of the rivers Memel and Dangau.

Vitold was greatly incensed by an inroad which Swidrigail made at this time into his territory, instigated, as he believed, by the Order. He therefore secretly despatched his Marshal, Rumpold, to organize a regular rising among the Samogitians. The Polish and Prussian writers differ very much in their accounts of the opening act of hostility committed by the Order. The Grand Master, on hearing of the revolt which was being organized, seized twenty Polish vessels, which he suspected to contain munitions of war intended for the Samo-

gitations; but it turned out that they were laden with corn for Lithuania, which was then suffering from the effects of a bad harvest.

Vitold immediately ordered his officers in Lithuania to commence hostilities. The Order, on learning this, despatched the Comthur of Thorn to Jagello, demanding that he should punish Vitold for aiding the Samogitians. The King declared that he knew nothing of the matter; and requested that the Grand Master should wait until he obtained the opinion of the Reichstag as to the conduct of the delinquent. On the 17th of July, 1409, after the meeting of the Reichstag, the Archbishop of Gnesen, Nicolaus von Kurowski, was despatched to the Grand Master, to bring about an interview between the latter and Jagello. It soon becoming apparent that the ambassador only sought to gain time, as the Poles were not yet ready to take the field, the Grand Master declared that he would at once advance on Lithuania unless his demand was complied with. The archbishop, losing his temper, replied that in that case Poland would retaliate on Prussia—a remark which was regarded by Ulrich as an open declaration of war. The Grand Master appears to have been quite prepared for eventualities, for, on the first sign of Vitold's contumacy, he had demanded reinforcements from various friendly princes, and had also induced the Dukes of Pomerania, Swantibor of Stettin, and Boguslaus of Stolpe, to renounce their alliance with the King of Poland. The Polish

envoys had evidently acted at variance with their instructions, for by their indiscretion they enabled Ulrich thus to bring matters to a crisis desired neither by Vitold nor by the King of Poland.

The former now effected a reconciliation with his rival Swidrigail, and called to his assistance his Tartar allies. The Grand Master, to forestall the attack of the Lithuanians, divided his army into three corps, which advanced simultaneously into Poland at different points. The first corps captured Dobrin, Slotoria, and Bobrovniki, the second corps took Bromberg, and the third overran Masovia. The rapid successes of the knights produced a very disheartening effect upon the Poles, and their king, finding that Vitold would be unable to assist him before the end of the next year, and that he would therefore have to contend single-handed against the three armies of the Order, determined to avail himself of the friendly offers made by Wenceslaus and Sigismund, who had despatched envoys to Swetz for the purpose. These two princes had already agreed to assist the Order in the war, but they were not unwilling to mediate, as they wished to preserve the balance of power between Poland and Prussia. The Grand Master agreed to an armistice, October 8, 1409. Both parties were to remain *in statu quo*; the conditions formerly entered into with King Casimir were to remain in force; should any dispute arise, it was to be decided by the Emperor Sigismund; and should one of the contracting

parties break the armistice, the Emperor bound himself to attack the aggressor.

Vitold, who had not been invited to take part in the negotiations, despatched ambassadors to the Emperor, demanding his aid in obtaining redress from the knights. His envoys were informed that the Emperor could have no communication with him, as he was a declared enemy of the Christian religion, by having called in the alliance of the heathen Russians and Tartars to destroy the champions of that holy faith.

After the settlement of the armistice, the Emperor called upon the Polish King and the Grand Master to lay before him their grounds of mutual complaint. Jagello maintained that Driesen, which had been purchased by the Order, had belonged from time immemorial to Poland; Von Jungingen, on the other hand, produced documents by which it was proved that the family Von der Ost had possessed it, for more than a century, as a fief of Brandenburg.

As regards the complaint that the Grand Master had not fulfilled his promise at Kauen, not to increase his power in the district of Santok, he stated that its inhabitants maintained that it had always belonged to the Neumark, and that they were determined to risk everything to prevent their separation, and, as he held the Neumark as a pledge, he was compelled to return it in its original extent, should the Emperor Sigismund redeem it. In

answer to the charge that Prussian officials had prevented Polish merchants conveying their merchandise to the sea coast through the territory of the Order, the Grand Master replied that this restriction should cease the moment similar rights were granted to Prussians. Von Jungingen further stated that the reason he forbade the export of horses to Poland was, that there did not exist in Prussia a sufficient number of animals for the requirements of the Order, but that he had never forbidden the export of armour to Poland. Touching the restoration of the territory which Duke Semowit had pledged to the knights, the Grand Master stated that he was perfectly ready to give them up, on the sum being paid for their redemption; and, as a proof that the knights had no desire to occupy them permanently, he informed the Emperor that the revenues received from them had been regarded as instalments of the money for which they had been pledged. After mature deliberation, King Wenceslaus gave the following decision at Prague: that all former documents or treaties should be valid; that each of the contracting parties should remain for ever in possession of all the territory and rights each possessed prior to the breaking out of hostilities; that the Order should restore Dobrin and receive Samogitia; and that neither party should seek the alliance of infidels for the purpose of attacking one another.

The Polish envoys declined to adhere to the

decision of Wenceslaus, although their king had solemnly promised to obey it. This conduct proved but too clearly that Jagello had resolved not to be bound by his engagements, unless he obtained his object. Wenceslaus, not wishing the renewal of the war, gave the King of Poland time to reconsider his refusal, his answer to be given by Whitsuntide, but no Polish envoys appeared on the day appointed. Wenceslaus informed the envoys of the Order that they had carried out all their engagements in accordance with the armistice, but that the King of Poland, by not accepting his judgment, had forfeited all right of demanding any concessions from the knights. Polish writers have done their utmost to prove that the King was prejudiced, and that he had an understanding with the Order to decide in their favour.

Neither Jagello nor Vitold was prepared to commence war. The latter had availed himself of the armistice to collect a numerous force of Russians and Tartars, and the King of Poland had managed to entice a large number of mercenary Germans and Bohemians into the ranks of his army. Towards the end of May the Grand Master received information from the governor of the Neumark that the Poles had taken the field in strength, and were threatening Driesen, and that they had collected numerous boats for the passage of the Netze. This intelligence of the forward movement of the Polish army was confirmed by a report from the Comthur



of Slochau, on the 13th of June, that he was in hourly expectation of an attack. On the 13th of May the Grand Master had issued a decree, calling on every able-bodied man in Prussia to be ready to march at a moment's notice. The Order was not only reinforced by a body of German knights, but also received considerable sums of money from various allies to assist in carrying on the war. The Bishops of Liefland and Courland were also summoned with their retainers.

Ulrich von Jungingen assembled his army near Swetz, where the envoys of Wenceslaus and Sigismund succeeded in bringing about a ten days' armistice. The King of Poland, who never really trusted Vitold, became so alarmed, and showed so much incapacity, that the direction of state affairs had to be given over to the Archbishop of Gnesen, and the command of the army to Zindramus de Moschowykze, assisted by a military council.

The Polish army numbered in all about 163,000, consisting of 60,000 Poles, 21,000 Bohemian and German mercenaries, a corps of 42,000 Lithuanians, and 40,000 Russians and Tartars, besides 60 pieces of heavy artillery\*. In vain did Vitold, on his knees, entreat the pusillanimous King not to disgrace himself in the eyes of his country; he only replied with tears and lamentations. Vitold,

\* These numbers, which we give as we find them in the old historians, are probably exaggerated.

enraged, left him, and took command of the left wing of the army.

The Grand Master, before the battle, sent the Marshal, Frederick von Wallenrode, to the King with two double-handed swords, one dipped in blood and the other unstained, requesting that, if he desired peace, he would accept the latter, and, if not, the former. The King took both in his hands, with the remark that he received them as a favourable omen, inasmuch as the vanquished always tenders his sword to the victor. After some hours passed in devotion, he seems to have summoned sufficient strength of mind to give orders for a forward movement. Having destroyed Gilgenberg, the Polish army massed itself for the purpose of marching against Marienburg. To prevent this movement, the Grand Master, at the head of 83,000 men, with a considerable train of artillery, determined to risk a battle at Tannenberg, July 15, 1410, and drew up his army in three ranks to the south of the village Grünwald.

The right wing of the first line rested on a wood, the left on the village of Tannenberg; the second was parallel to the first; the third line was composed of two distinct corps, which served as reserves, in the vicinity of Grünwald.

Both wings of the first rank were protected by advanced bodies of troops. Another corps remained behind to guard the camp at Trogenau.

Just before the engagement a Bohemian knight,

named Methodius von Trautenau, with 800 cavalry, offered his services to the Grand Master, who, fearing treachery, sent a refusal. The Bohemian then went over to Jagello, who also declined, and ordered him to take up a position at some distance, and not to take part in the battle.

That the spirit of the mercenaries of the Polish army was not good, was proved by the fact that 300 Bohemians, who had not received their pay, attempted to desert to the Order. Jagello himself anticipated a defeat, for we are told he kept himself out of the reach of danger in a concealed spot, and had relays of horses ready should he require them.

The Grand Master opened the engagement with a murderous fire from his artillery, hoping to shake the ranks of his opponents. Believing he had effected this, a general attack was ordered along the entire line. For some time both armies fought without gaining ground, but the Lithuanians and Tartar allies, who were stationed on the left flank, at length began to waver. The Grand Master perceiving this, at once reinforced his right, and in a very short time Vitold's contingent fled in wild confusion from the field, and he himself, unable to rally the fugitives, returned to assist the King, whom he induced to leave his place of concealment. The knights lost a great advantage by continuing the pursuit of the Lithuanians, instead of attacking the flank and front of the Poles. Already the principal standard of the Polish army was laid low, and that

of the King's body-guard had been carried to the rear for security, when numerical superiority at last began to tell on the troops of the Order, and gradually they were forced to give way. At this critical juncture the knights who had been in pursuit returned, and at once reinforced their comrades. The reserve corps then came into action, and advanced on the spot occupied by the King and his guards.

Unfortunately at this moment the Grand Master, who had received several wounds, fell, slain by a Tartar, who despoiled him of his long beard.

The remnant of the army, disheartened by this calamity and overpowered by numbers, retreated, leaving on the field 40,000 men. The Poles are estimated to have lost upwards of 60,000. Duke Casimir of Pomerania, Conrad von Oels, and the Knight Reggersdorf, commander of the mercenaries, were taken prisoners. The victory appears to have been due, in great measure, to the Bohemians, who had been eye-witnesses of the battle, and only took part in it when they perceived that the decisive moment had arrived. Writers censure the Grand Master for having brought up his reserve, and are of opinion that he ought to have preserved this intact, and retired on his camp covered by his numerous artillery; but it is probable that, finding it impossible to disentangle his troops, he had no other resource than to risk all, hand to hand, and trust to the bravery of his knights.

Jagello appears not to have behaved with great

severity to his prisoners, who are said to have amounted to 40,000. The principal officers were interned in different Polish castles, and the common soldiers were allowed to return to their homes, after having given their word of honour as soldiers that they would present themselves at Cracow on a certain day.

The extraordinary fatigue which the Polish army had undergone, together with the numerous losses it had experienced, prevented Jagello from appearing before Marienburg until seven days after his victory. This valuable time enabled Heinrich von Plauen, Comthur of Swetz, a veteran soldier of the Order, to reinforce Marienburg with 4,000 men, and prepare for the expected siege. He was shortly after joined by 4,000 sailors from Dantzic, together with a number of fugitives. Rather than that the town should fall into the hands of the Poles, he burned it with its suburbs to the ground, having previously conveyed all the valuables and provisions to the castle. The basement or ground floor of the stronghold was defended by 1,000 men, under the command of Von Plauen, a namesake and cousin of the commandant. The first story was defended by 2,000 men, under Gilmach von Zepfen, and the upper part of the castle by the rest of the garrison, under the commandant himself.

The first result of Jagello's victory was the appearance in his camp of envoys sent by the Bishop of Ermland to offer his obedience, and the Bishops

of Samland and Culm also submitted. Jagello ordered all the distinguished officers who had fallen on both sides to be buried together at the church of Tannenberg, and he released the wounded, whom he treated like his own soldiers. As a mark of respect to the memory of Von Jungingen, he sent his body to Osterode for interment in the vault of the Grand Masters.

Vitold did not treat his captives so leniently. He ordered the Comthur of Brandenburg and Marquard von Salzbach to be beheaded, it is said in revenge for some old insult which he had nursed in his memory.

The strongholds in the possession of the knights at this time were Rheden, Dantzic, Schlochau, Swetz, Brandenburg, Balga, Ragnit, and Memel.

Heinrich von Plaüen after the death of the Grand Master had been elected Stadtholder. The Poles soon occupied the ruins of the town of Marienburg, but they were unable to surround the castle, the knights having destroyed the bridge over the Nogat. On the 25th of July, Jagello issued a proclamation from his camp, calling on the inhabitants of Prussia to swear allegiance to him, either personally or by letter, an order which appears to have been universally obeyed. The Stadtholder finding, after several weeks' defence, that further resistance would be useless, resolved to treat with the King, and accordingly, on August 1, repaired to his camp, where Heinrich offered to restore to Poland all the con-

quered territory. Jagello appears to have been willing to accept the conditions, but his councillors overruled, and by their advice he demanded the annexation of all Prussia, the knights having the option either to submit or quit the country. The Stadtholder answered that in making his offer he had gone as far as honour would permit, and, after this humiliation, he believed that God and the Virgin would still preserve the Order.

The Stadtholder, finding the King inexorable, retraced his steps to Marienburg with a determination to hold out to the last. It appears extraordinary in this invasion of Prussia that the supremacy of Jagello was acknowledged by all classes. Town after town sent deputies, tendering to him their allegiance, and we are told that both sexes vied with each other in discarding their former costume and adopting that of Poland. This wholesale submission enabled Jagello to bestow the confiscated property of the knights upon his followers, and give into their hands the principal posts of the government. One of the towns most indebted to the Order was Elbing, yet so ready was it to acknowledge the conqueror, that the citizens actually expelled the governor of the fortress, and presented Jagello with a magnificent set of silver plate, which the commandant was unable to carry off with him. Dantzic did not behave much better; the people undertook not to disturb the garrison, provided it evacuated the fortifications after the fall of Marienburg.

On the return of Heinrich von Plauen to Marienburg, in order to counteract rumours of bad success, he ordered it to be proclaimed by flourish of trumpets that the King of Hungary was marching to the relief of the castle. He also managed to convey to the Comthurs of Dantzic, Swetz, and Schlochau, through a disguised priest of the Order, the sum of 30,000 ducats for the purpose of raising mercenaries. The Poles in vain attempted to surround the castle, as Von Plauen, under cover of his superior artillery, made constant sorties; besides this, the want of discipline in the Polish army and their usual excesses soon produced a great amount of sickness amongst them. They also suffered considerably from want of provisions, as a disease which broke out amongst the horses at that time made the army dependent upon manual labour for the conveyance of stores.

That Sigismund must have entered into some arrangement to assist the knights is evident from the fact that the Dantzigers, by order of the Comthur prior to the battle of Tannenberg, gave his envoys the sum of 20,000 marks to raise mercenaries in aid of the Order, although they readily gave in their allegiance to the Polish King. In a very short time the Polish people were alarmed by the rumours of Sigismund's intended advance into Poland, and as their entire army was absent in Prussia, they demanded that Jagello should detach a sufficient force from his army to protect his own territory.



A fresh cause of alarm arose from the fact that the governor of Liefland, Conrad Wittinghoff, having collected a small but well-disciplined force, had marched to the relief of Marienburg, and that Vitold with his corps had been ordered to check his advance. Conrad, knowing the ambitious disposition of his opponent, requested an interview, in which he offered him the independent sovereignty of Lithuania, together with that of Samogitia. Vitold, who had always aspired to become an independent prince, and in fact to succeed to the Polish throne, undertook to do his utmost to raise the siege of Marienburg. It was accordingly arranged that Conrad Wittinghoff should proceed to the camp of the King, accompanied by fifty knights, and request a free passage for himself and followers to Marienburg, under the specious pretext that he intended informing the Stadtholder that no relief could be expected, and thereby bring about the surrender. Jagello consented, and, after an interview between Wittinghoff and Von Plauen, it was determined that the former should return to the King, expressing his regret that he had been unsuccessful. The King, whose fears as to the safety of the army had been worked upon by Vitold, now expressed his readiness to accept the terms offered by the Stadtholder, who however now refused to abide by his former proposal. Vitold's troops were suffering from dysentery, and under this plea he withdrew from the siege, and shortly after returned to Lithu-

ania, his example being followed by the Duke of Masovia. Several of the Polish nobles also, who wished to place their booty in some place of safety, now retired to their country. The besieged were suffering considerably, and they had only sufficient food for fourteen days; but before that period elapsed the King of Poland, pressed by these losses, raised the siege September 19, 1410, by the advice of Andreas von Thaczin, one of his principal nobles. It is said that the Bohemian mercenaries offered to deliver Marienburg into the hands of the Poles for the sum of 40,000 gulden, but the King, although in possession of a large quantity of booty, had not sufficient ready money to pay the traitors.

No sooner had the King of Poland passed the Vistula and Nessau than he disbanded his army, that is to say, he could no longer keep them together; in fact, it was with the greatest difficulty that he retained a sufficient number to protect the frontiers. The Stadtholder now commenced collecting all his available forces for the purpose of regaining possession of his lost strongholds. Dantzic opened its gates to its former masters. Michael Kuchmeister was despatched to besiege Tauchel, but was defeated with heavy loss by the Poles at Crone. The latter, however, unaccountably retired without following up their success, and the commandant, fearing that Kuchmeister would be reinforced, surrendered on condition that the garrison should retreat unmolested to Poland. The Order

now received considerable reinforcements, under the command of Johann Eglosstein, Bishop of Wurzburg, and Johann von Munsterburg, Duke of Silesia; and with some of these troops the stronghold of Tauchel was garrisoned. Jagello in vain attempted to induce the Prussians by promises or threats to remain faithful to him; they now displayed the same eagerness to submit to the Order as they had formerly shown in throwing off their allegiance to it.

Before narrating the events which succeeded the battle of Tannenberg, it is necessary to give some account of the Order and its internal organization at this period. The following were the most important officers:—The Gross Comthur (Commendatur magnus); the Land Marschall, commander-in-chief in war; the Oberster Spittler, who had the superintendence of the hospitals, assisted in his duties by minor officials. His seat was at Elbing.

The Trapierer had the superintendence of the stores and armoury, and took care that the poorer members of the Order were duly supplied with clothes and provisions.

The Treasurer always accompanied the Grand Master with the insignia of his office; his seal represented a key in the hand. The Grand Master was also attended by the Campan or Companion, whose duty it was to see personally all who sought an audience.

The following were inferior in rank:—the Com-

thur, Land Comthur, House Comthur, Marshal of the Horse, who superintended the studs; the Steward, who controlled the domains; the Ranger, who had charge of the forests; and the Superintendent of the fisheries.

The brothers were also divided into several classes. Some of them lived in the convents, which each contained twelve knights and six priests, amongst whom Werner von Orseln established a species of ecclesiastical discipline.

The Grand Master possessed almost absolute power, and was only responsible to the Order, by which alone he could be deposed; for the deliberation of momentous questions he was bound to call a General Chapter, sometimes as many as 300 knights assembling on such occasions. Questions of peace and war rested with an assembly of the Chapter. The Bishop of Ermland tried to make himself independent of the Order by drawing up a military constitution for his see, but this attempt failed.

The Order assessed all imposts; it is not certain whether the nobles and burghers were consulted, but it is probable that the Order asked consent of both land-owners and ecclesiastics before imposing a new tax. The Order had also extensive private domains, especially in Samogitia and in the Neu-mark. A good revenue was derived from the tolls, and also by the imposition of a pfundzoll (poundage), that is, a tax on all ships and on all goods entering the harbours and commercial towns. This tax was

very rarely suspended, and, with skilful management, yielded a large return. A very considerable revenue was also afforded by the fisheries. It would seem that the domains held by the knights were increased by the owners of estates frequently dying intestate or without issue, a consequence either of the constant wars or of the irregular life led by those who had received fiefs. The revenue amounted to 800,000 marks, equal to 1,600,000 Hungarian gulden.

The members of the Order enjoyed the following advantages:—board, lodging, clothing, military outfit, and the possession of a certain number of horses. Those who resided in the convents appear to have been compelled to submit to certain restrictions as regards diet and amusement, and we have already seen that Ulrich von Jungingen imposed regulations in order to check growing luxury among the brotherhood, and which were specially directed to the number of horses allowed to each knight. The legislative power and administration of justice were vested in the Grand Master and the Order. The bishops had probably a voice by right of territory, especially since the Bishop of Ermland had raised himself to the rank of prince, and nearly succeeded in making himself independent. In ecclesiastical matters, the prelates exercised a certain authority in making laws and arrangements; yet prior to the battle of Tannenberg we never hear of a synod having been summoned by a bishop.

The towns also had authority, by right of their privileges, to enact local laws and impose local taxation; also over trade licences, police arrangements, the defence of the town, and the supply of municipal garrisons.

The Teutonic Order may be truly regarded as the first Government which possessed a regular standing army; in fact, the present organization of district command is only a development of the old system. In the towns the Haus Comthur sat on the bench; in country places the Comthur, who, assisted by some local man of rank or position, decided all ordinary cases. Certain towns, such as Elbing, Braunsberg, Tannenberg, and Memel, held their own Court of Appeal; but in criminal matters the Order reserved to itself the power of imposing punishments and granting pardons. Although each locality enacted its own municipal police laws and arrangements, yet the Order retained its rights of occasionally interfering and imposing special restrictions; for instance, in cases of epidemic disease, or in matters for the regulation of the standard of weights and measures. The Grand Master had the power of conferring the rank of knight, but it is not certain whether he also appointed the notaries. In a document of the year 1342, of the Grand Master Ludolf König, there occur the following words, "*Paulus et Johannes notarii nostri*"—Paul and John, our notaries, but it is not quite clear that this refers to the Grand Master.

It will be hereafter seen how, after the battle of Tannenberg, this extraordinary brotherhood lost much of its influence in Northern Europe, whilst the order of knighthood became so common, that it fell in estimation and lost its original significance.

The trade which had hitherto passed through the Prussian territory began to be absorbed by the Portuguese and Dutch, who conveyed their goods by other channels. In consequence also of the large standing army of foreign mercenaries, who were always ready to seize provisions in lieu of pay, corn became scarce, for the agriculturists only cultivated sufficient for their own private consumption. The coinage also became depreciated, and foreign merchants did not care to send corn to the Prussian market. The union of Poland and Lithuania under one sovereign also contributed to diminish the power of the Teutonic Knights, who were now obliged to impose heavy taxes upon their subjects to meet the great expenses incurred by the hiring of foreign mercenaries, ever ready to give their services to the highest bidder.

As the position of the Order became more and more embarrassing, it was obliged, by underhand means, to seek the assistance of the Pope, especially as the ecclesiastics began to reassert their former authority. Added to this, minor States, which had hitherto borne with impatience the yoke of the Order, began now to assert their independence, and to claim distinct constitutional rights.

## CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1410—1414.

Intrigues of Vitold—Von Plauen elected Grand Master (1410)—Jagello's friendly Overtures—Armistice—Peace of Thorn (1411)—Financial Difficulties of the Order—Expedients for raising Money—Discontent in the large Towns—Revolt of Dantzic—The Dantzigers forced to Submit—Claims of the Mercenaries—Further Taxation—The Knights invade Masovia (1413)—Internal Dissensions of the Order—Kuchmeister Leader of the Opposition—Abdication and Arrest of the Grand Master (1414)—Character and Policy of Heinrich von Plauen.

THE knights having now expelled the Poles, the Stadtholder convoked a Grand Chapter, which unanimously raised him to the dignity of Grand Master on the 9th of November, 1410.

No sooner had Jagello heard of Von Plauen's election than he despatched to him on the 25th of November a letter of congratulation, expressing his desire to be on friendly terms with the Order; and this official document was accompanied by a private communication, promising him his support



in case his authority should be resisted. From this it appears that Jagello had received secret information of disunion among the knights. Von Plauen replied that, as Jagello had not obeyed the Pope's injunction, and was enlisting mercenaries, he would be forced to do the same, and the war was thus continued. Stein and Mohrungen, two strongholds held by the Poles, surrendered to Plauen, and the town of Thorn again submitted, a number of citizens who remained loyal to the Order having compelled its surrender by a successful revolt. Sigismund's army, under the command of Stibor, had now advanced into Poland, placing the King in a perilous position; but the invaders met with several reverses, which, together with the disunion amongst the knights, now becoming more apparent, induced the Grand Master to listen to those who counselled the necessity of peace. But the terms offered by Jagello were so humiliating, that the Grand Master could not accept them; a short time afterwards, however, through the medium of Vitold, Von Plauen concluded a month's armistice at Thorn, the castle of which was still held by the Poles.

Jagello availed himself of the armistice to increase the number of his mercenaries, and to raise fresh levies among his Polish subjects. Von Plauen, on the other hand, issued a proclamation to all the princes of Europe, describing the exhausted condition of Prussia, and exposing the ambitious designs of the King of Poland against the independence of

the country. The Grand Master was also in communication with Vitold, urging him to ally himself with the Order, and guaranteeing to assist him in becoming the independent sovereign of Lithuania. Jagello, hearing that strong reinforcements were advancing to the assistance of the Order, determined to intercept them; and accordingly marched on Thorn with a numerous army for the purpose of surrounding the Grand Master's forces. Vitold, foreseeing the destruction of all his ambitious hopes, made common cause with the envoys of the Emperor and the Pope in persuading Jagello to come to terms with the knights. The King of Poland, fearing that his chief supporters, the bishops, might go against him, agreed to and concluded a peace on the 1st of February, 1411, on an island of the Vistula, near Thorn. The conditions were highly advantageous to the knights, being the immediate cessation of hostilities; a mutual exchange of all prisoners, the Grand Master paying the sum of 15,000 marks ready money; all conquests during the war to be restored, and the inhabitants to be allowed to renounce the oath of allegiance to Poland; Samogitia to be ceded to Vitold and Jagello during their lives; Duke Semowit of Masovia to receive back without payment the district of Zobra, pledged by him to the Order. The above were the main articles of the treaty. As regards the possession of Driesen and Santok, the King of Poland and the Grand Master agreed to leave the decision of the

dispute to the arbitration of twelve commissioners, with the option of a final appeal to the Pope. A similar arrangement was made concerning any dispute between the knights, Vitold, and Jagello. These two princes undertook to renounce their alliance with the heathens, in forcibly converting whom the three parties were to make common cause. All Prussians who had sided with the enemy received full pardon, except the Bishop of Ermland. Finally it was agreed that, should Sigismund desire to become a party to the treaty, he was to be allowed to do so. The treaty was finally ratified on a plain near Slotoria. The King of Poland also concluded a truce for eight months with the King of Hungary, and the Lithuanian and Polish armies withdrew to their own territory. The first difficulty which the Grand Master had to grapple with was the immediate payment of the Polish indemnity, although he had received about this time a sum of 25,419 nobles from the King of England for losses the Prussians had experienced at the hands of English cruisers. The treasury, indeed, had become nearly exhausted from the large amount of money paid to the mercenaries on being dismissed. It had been hoped that a compromise for this payment might be effected, as the Pope had formerly declared that the war was an unjust one. During the time the Poles held possession of Prussia they had despoiled most of the churches of their valuables, and this it was also trusted would be regarded at Rome as part payment

of the indemnity; but the moment the treaty was ratified, Jagello, who was himself in great pecuniary difficulties, managed to raise a sum of money, which he despatched to the Holy See to propitiate the Pope in his favour; nor was he deceived in the result, for when the question came on for the decision of John XXIII., that Pontiff declared that the war was justifiable, and that the articles taken from the Church were the lawful property of the King of Poland.

The Grand Master was the first to break one of the principal articles of the treaty, viz., that past offences should be forgiven; for, brought up in the school of obedience, he could not overlook the want of it in others. He accordingly severely punished all the principal officials who had betrayed their trust during the Polish invasion; and several of the offenders were executed without trial.

Many of the knights had sullied the honour of the Order by their pusillanimity and cupidity during the invasion of Prussia. Some, after having actually collected all the valuables they could find, fled the country; some surrendered important strongholds without the least resistance; and Von Plauen knew that, unless he made a severe example of the delinquents, he never would be able to restore the *morale* which had once been so conspicuous.

The Bishop of Ermland, finding himself excepted in the treaty, fled to Dantzic and thence to Lubeck, and the bishopric was handed over to the charge of

a certain Count von Schwartzburg, who appointed one Lucas von Gelfenstein collector of the revenue. In the space of a few years this official paid into the exchequer of the Order the large sum of 58,000 marks, which he was the more easily enabled to do, inasmuch as the bishop had, by his treachery, saved his see from Polish spoliation.

Financial difficulties increased every day, owing to the demands made by the Bohemian and Hungarian mercenaries, to whom back pay was still due. To raise money, the Grand Master sold several estates in Bohemia belonging to the Order, to King Wenceslaus, who, under pretext of preventing the creditors of the Order from getting hold of them, seized their remaining property in that country. His example was followed by the King of Hungary, and both these princes complained to the Pope that the peace with Poland had been concluded without their consent. The debasement of the currency was another expedient of Von Plauen's, a measure which created great discontent in those sea-ports which had most to do with foreign trade, as the Prussian money had formerly been highly valued on account of its purity. Dantzic gave the most trouble, a town which had for many years displayed an insubordinate spirit, and since the last war had regarded the knights with feelings of hostility. Other causes for popular discontent were that the Grand Master had allowed the English merchants to have a storehouse for their cloth and linen, and

that, to counteract the power of the citizens, the Order had introduced into the new town a number of artisans. About this time a certain Benedict Pfenning was commanded to superintend the coining of pfennings in the town. The indignation of the citizens manifested itself in a series of disorders, which ended in Pfenning's being thrown out of the window of the Council House, whereby he sustained serious injuries, and his being expelled from his seat in the municipality. The Comthur demanded that the councillors should be punished, but Von Plauen's financial difficulties induced him to attempt to conciliate the Dantzigers. He repaired to Dantzic in person, and persuaded the rival parties to meet in the church, where they shook hands in token of mutual reconciliation. The town council was, however, bent on becoming independent of the Order.

In 1411 the exigencies of the treasury compelled the Grand Master to levy an income tax, which Dantzic was determined to resist, if necessary, by force, and accordingly it appealed to the Hanseatic Confederation for assistance. The gates were barricaded, and the communication between the town and the castle cut off, the Comthur appealing in vain to the loyalty of the citizens. Von Plauen now, finding all persuasion useless, resolved to resort to severer measures, and declared that Dantzic had forfeited its trading privileges, transferring them to Elbing and other towns. He also put an end to

the communication between the town and the different inland markets. The Grand Master before long, however, to the astonishment of all, totally changed his demeanour towards the Dantzigers, probably perceiving on reflection that he had gone too far. He expressed his readiness to overlook the past, should they be willing to tender obedience and to regard the Comthur as his representative. The unruly burghers made a show of submission, but still persisted in their resistance to the authority of the Comthur, whose proceedings they constantly opposed in the council chamber.

A fresh quarrel soon arose. The commander of Dirschau, in ignorance of the Grand Master's recent actions, having, in pursuance of former orders, arrested certain merchants of the town who were traversing the district for the purpose of trade, the burgomaster and council, unknown to the Comthur, demanded their release. The commandant, not knowing what to do, forwarded the letter he had received to the Comthur, who called upon the town council for an explanation of this usurpation of authority. This they refused, and, in order further to show their contempt, they gave a public entertainment to one Palsart, who had formerly occupied the post of Principal Administrator at the Court of the Grand Master at Marienburg, but who, on account of some delinquency, had been exiled. The Comthur now called upon the ring-leaders to appear before him in the citadel.

Amongst these were Letzkau, Hecht, Gross, and Tidemann, two of whom were mayors. The councillors used such threatening language that the Comthur, fearing an attempt on his life, and that an insurrection was imminent, had them arrested and searched, when it was found that they had armour under their clothes, and were also provided with weapons. The Comthur thereupon ordered the decapitation of Letzkau, Hecht, and Gross, and prepared to enforce his authority by means of the garrison. The Dantzigers now sent a deputation to the Grand Master, who was at Königsberg. He at once seized the persons of the envoys, and at a general assembly of the bishops, officers of state, and the representatives of the towns, which was held at the following Easter, he condemned the Dantzigers to a heavy fine in money, the property of the ringleaders was confiscated, and the citizens were compelled to pay up the arrears of taxes and to submit to fresh contributions.

The increased burden of taxation, however, was not sufficient to pay the arrears of the mercenaries, and the Grand Master accordingly hit upon an extraordinary plan of satisfying them by marrying their principal officers to wealthy widows and richly endowed maidens. The success of this ingenious expedient was short lived. The marriage portions were soon squandered in debauchery, and the claims on the treasury were renewed.

Luckily for the Grand Master, the Poles, after



having received the first instalment, did not release the prisoners, a circumstance which enabled Von Plauen to influence Pope John XXIII. and Charles, King of France, to intercede for the postponement of the payment of the remaining two instalments. The French King, in a letter dated January 12, 1412, informed the King of Poland that it was his wish, and that of several princes, that the peace should remain unbroken, and that he should not press for payment; and further, that should the Poles commence hostilities, France would assist the Order. The Grand Master, to be prepared for every emergency, again took into his pay a considerable number of mercenaries from Lubeck, Risbock, and Stralsund to protect the borders, but, as he was unable to support the expense, these hirelings lived on the inhabitants until, having completely beggared the frontier country, they left Prussia. Lieben, Ottelsburg, and Rhein, which they had garrisoned, were pledged to the Duke of Masovia.

The claims made by the Bishop of Cujavia, for repayment of the losses which the bishopric had experienced during its occupation by the knights, were another cause of dispute between the Poles and the Order. Sigismund, who, we have before seen, had always allowed himself to be paid for the support he afforded the knights,—according to Prussian writers extorting as much as possible,—now again came forward in the capacity of arbi-

trator. He first required that both parties should swear they would obey his decision. Jagello immediately agreed to this, but the Grand Master ordered his envoys not to consent until they had seen it in writing. Sigismund then proceeded to demand the sum of 25,000 gulden, which he pretended was due to him from the Order. Von Plauen offered 10,000 gulden, which after some demur was accepted. To show beyond doubt that the Order was supported by all classes in Prussia, he despatched to Sigismund a deputation consisting of the following:—the Archbishop of Riga, John von Wallenrode, four Grand Commanders of the Order, Von Plauen, who helped to defend Marienburg, two Canons of Ermland, two Prussian knights, Von Legendorf and Von Rulingen, and three burgomasters from each of the principal Prussian cities.

To persuade his subjects that his sole object was peace, the Grand Master ordered prayers to be said in the grand church at Marienburg, and in other churches, day and night, from the departure of the embassy until its return. After considerable delay, the Emperor decided in favour of the Bishop of Cujavia, and on the 24th of August, 1412, the Order was called upon to fully indemnify him for all the losses he had sustained during the Polish war, and also to restore all properties which had formerly belonged to the bishopric. Sigismund further decreed that, should Prussia or Poland refuse to

acknowledge his judgment, each should pay the sum of 10,000 marks.

In the year 1413 Jagello appears to have effected a compromise with the Order, with reference to the claims of the bishop, but at that very time the latter and Vitold were doing their utmost to increase their strength by forming an alliance with the Tartars and Russians. Vitold, from his character, was naturally regarded with far greater suspicion than Jagello. It was in vain that the Grand Master despatched George Eiglingen to the Roman Court, for the purpose of calling the attention of the Pope to these violations of the treaty. Vitold himself, not content with breaking the former treaty by entering into negotiations with the barbarians, was also erecting a strong fortress at Wielun, and fortifying other places.

The Grand Master, being convinced that he could not depend on the assistance of Germany in case of outbreak of hostilities with Poland, had no alternative but to increase the taxation of his subjects. To raise fresh troops the actual wants of the treasury were 110,000 marks, but, owing to a bad harvest, the fresh taxes only realized 60,000. The Grand Master is accused of using a great part of this sum for the enrolment of fresh mercenaries, instead of paying outstanding debts, which to some extent was the case, but a large portion of the money went into the hands of Sigismund.

When at last the Grand Master had paid the

greater part of the indemnity, he proceeded to negotiate for the release of all remaining prisoners held by the Poles, and for the surrender of several forts. Sigismund despatched an envoy named Benedict Macra to treat with the representative of the Order, and settle all the remaining points of dispute. It would seem, however, that the envoy allowed himself to be bribed by Vitold, and decided every point in favour of the Poles.

As a proof of the double dealing of Jagello and Vitold, it is stated that they now attempted to evade the stipulation that Samogitia after their death should belong to the Order, by pretending that the Polish Diet declared Samogitia to be the inheritance of the Princess Hedwig, and that they were bound to abide by its decision.

The Grand Master now requested Sigismund to recall his envoy, and to appoint a fresh one. At the same time he called the attention of the principal European Courts to the unjustifiable conduct of the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania. The latter now commenced preparations for war, and the Grand Master availed himself of this opportunity to invade Masovia and Pomerania, in return for the bad faith of the two dukes in deserting the cause of the knights; and, notwithstanding that many of the mercenaries forsook his standard at Lauterberg, Von Plauen overran a large part of Masovia, and destroyed thirty villages.

The Grand Master had now not only to contend

with external difficulties, but with disunion and petty jealousies amongst the knights. Werner von Orseln had introduced the custom of bestowing the highest offices only on those of noble family. This rule Von Plauen utterly disregarded; in fact, many of the most lucrative appointments had been vacant for some time, for the sake of economy and retrenchment. Von Plauen's opponents also accused him of displaying great partiality towards North Germans, between whom and the South Germans there always existed great jealousy. The last and most serious ground of complaint was the protection he afforded to the different members of the reformed sects who had taken refuge in Prussia. The opponents of Von Plauen had for some time been attempting to thwart him in his foreign and domestic policy, but, having no leader of sufficient weight in the Chapter, they had to content themselves with secret intrigues. At last Kuchmeister von Sternberg, the Marshal, a very ambitious man, who fancied that he had not been sufficiently rewarded by the Grand Master, became the leader of the opposition.

Von Plauen, fully understanding that, unless he acted with determination, his power would be snatched from his grasp, expelled Kuchmeister from the Privy Council and placed him under close arrest, at the same time summoning several of the principal officers before him on a certain day. We are also informed that a pilgrim, who attempted to frighten the Grand Master by relating a superna-

tural apparition, foreshadowing Von Plauen's future fate, was executed by his orders. In the mean time Kuchmeister and his fellow conspirators repeated their complaints to the Pope and the Emperor. The Pope declared that, if the Grand Master had really committed the acts attributed to him, he deserved to be deposed, but he would not take the responsibility. The senior knight, Otto von Lernstein, was deputed to communicate the Pope's opinion to the Grand Master, who was surrounded by a body of knights and forcibly deprived of the insignia of the Order, and conveyed as a prisoner to Tapiau.

This violent proceeding was totally at variance with the fundamental law of the Order, and also in direct defiance of the privileges granted by the Emperor and the Pope to the Grand Master. In order to give their proceedings a certain appearance of legality, when the Chapter was assembled for the election of the new Grand Master, on the 6th of January, 1414, Von Plauen was called before the assembly, and the charges of which he was accused were read before him. In his defence he fully acknowledged that many of his acts had been arbitrary and at variance with the laws of the Order, but in extenuation he pleaded that the overwhelming difficulties which had surrounded him had forced him to act on his own responsibility. He undertook, should he be allowed to continue his office, to rule the country in accordance with the advice of the majority of his council. His opponents

refused to accede to any compromise, but the choice of voluntary resignation was allowed him. On his accepting this he was made Comthur of Engelsburg, which was equivalent to confinement on parole. Most of his supporters were dismissed from their offices, but his cousin, the Comthur of Dantzic, was allowed to remain at his post, on account of the great influence he exercised, not only in Prussia, but also at many foreign Courts. Perhaps the gravest charge against Heinrich von Plauen was, that he had secretly misappropriated large sums of money, which he had handed over to his two cousins for the purpose of getting his family acknowledged as the hereditary Grand Masters of Prussia. The principal agents were stated to be the leaders of the different reformed sects who had taken refuge in Prussia. In a formal protest the two Von Plauens proved beyond doubt that they had never received moneys belonging to the Order for illegal purposes, and that all the charges brought against the Grand Master had been grossly exaggerated by his detractors.

On the 9th of January the Chapter elected Hermann Gans, Comthur of Elbing, as Stadtholder. Doubtless Von Plauen believed that, as he had saved the Order from destruction by his own personal talents, the knights would willingly submit to those arbitrary acts which the circumstances of the time rendered necessary, albeit unconstitutional. It is evident that Von Plauen possessed all the attri-

butes necessary for a sovereign, a statesman, and a warrior, as the obstacles which he overcame amply show. Unfortunately for himself, he was the head of an aristocratic oligarchy, who were always eager to share the reins of government as soon as real danger passed away. That Heinrich von Plauen was not imbued with the intense spirit of Vaticanism of the age, appears from the fact that he allowed the followers of Wicliffe and Huss to settle in Prussia, and even to hold appointments; whilst his nephew, William von Katzenellenbogen, was allowed to retain the post of Comthur of Slochau after embracing the doctrines of the Reformers. Nor did he attempt to discourage monks from leaving their cloisters to contract matrimony. His apologists maintain that his religious policy was based on the fact that a large number of the fugitive Reformers belonged to the industrial classes, and, like the Flemings and French in England, created new sources of national wealth.



## CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1414—1422.

Michael Kuchmeister elected Grand Master (1414)—Intrigues of Jagello—Von Plauen arrested and conveyed to Lochstadt—Invasion of Prussia by the Poles—Advance on Elbing—Siege of Culm raised by Vitold—Jagello and Kuchmeister agree to refer the Dispute to the Council of Constance (1415)—Oppressive Measures against the Hussites—Outbreak at Dantzic—Two Years' Truce with Poland (1417)—Economic Regulations—Decision of the Council of Constance in favour of the Order—Dispute referred to Sigismund (1420)—Sigismund's Decision—Prolongation of the Truce—Unpopularity of Kuchmeister—His Resignation (1422)—General Condition of Prussia.

AFTER the resignation of Von Plauen, the Chapter elected Michael Kuchmeister von Sternberg, a man who had behaved most perfidiously to the late Grand Master, whose humiliation must have been still more embittered by such a choice.

The first act of Kuchmeister was to despatch letters to the Pope, the Kings of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and the leading princes of Germany, in justification of the proceedings of the Order, and

concluding by an assurance of his peaceful intentions as its ruler.

Von Plauen's fall seems to have been regarded with satisfaction by Jagello, and the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary; nor was the humiliation of the protector of the detested Reformers a spectacle at all displeasing to the Pope.

We have before seen that Jagello had, on Von Plauen's accession to power, offered to assist him in maintaining his authority over the knights, and he now secretly commenced negotiating with the supporters of the deposed Grand Master, for the purpose of restoring him to his former post, and thereby fomenting further discord in the Order.

On this reaching the ears of Kuchmeister, he had Von Plauen at once conveyed to the fort of Brandenburg, and thence to Lochstadt, where he was kept in close confinement.

Sigismund, who had been constantly mediating between the Poles and the Order, so as to prevent the outbreak of war, now summoned Vitold and the Grand Master to appear before him at Ofen, April 10, 1414; but his endeavours had little result, as both parties were determined on war, and only wanted some pretext for commencing hostilities.

The immediate cause of a rupture was the plunder and murder of several Polish merchants by soldiers belonging to the Order—a circumstance which was taken advantage of by the needy Polish magnates, who, having spent the proceeds of the campaign in

Prussia, called upon their king to demand immediate satisfaction, with a view to the replenishment of their coffers. Jagello, unable to stem the current of popular feeling, was forced to assemble a large army of Poles and Lithuanians for the invasion of Prussia.

Several encounters had already taken place on the frontiers, in which the knights were the aggressors. The Poles then advanced into Prussia, capturing the castles of Neidenburg and Allenstein, but, having lost their siege guns in the passage of the Vistula, they met with a check before Heilberg. Without waiting for a fresh supply of artillery, the Polish army pushed on towards Elbing, when their advance was suddenly arrested by the following stratagem:—Kuchmeister ordered the commandant of Strasburg—one of the most important fortresses—to forward him a letter describing the unprepared condition of the garrison to resist any attack on the part of the Poles. This letter was allowed to fall into the hands of Jagello, who immediately invested the place. After considerable delay the siege was commenced, but could not be properly conducted, on account of the want of heavy artillery, and Jagello joined Vitold's army before Culm. The withdrawal of the Poles from the vicinity of Elbing enabled Kuchmeister to raise a fresh war contribution and a large number of mercenaries, having recourse, like his predecessor, to the dangerous expedient of further debasing the coin, and raising

money also on revenues due from Dantzic and Thorn.

By these means he was enabled to invade and devastate Masovia and Cujavia, to recapture the castles of Neidenburg and Allenstein, and to occupy the Polish line of retreat. As before, the want of discipline among the Poles produced disease and discontent; and Vitold, who secretly aimed at undermining Jagello's popularity in Poland, suddenly raised the siege of Culm, and retired to Lithuania. Happily for the King of Poland, the Pope now despatched his legate, Bishop John of Lausanne, to persuade the Grand Master and Jagello to lay their disputes before a Council of the Church about to assemble at Constance; a suggestion which was adopted by both parties.

This celebrated Council was convoked by the Emperor Sigismund, at the suggestion of Pope John XXIII., to restore peace to the Church, which was then distracted by a great schism, no fewer than three Popes claiming at this time the homage of the Christian states. John XXIII., who was elected Pope in 1410, had given great offence to Ladislaus, King of Naples, by whom he was driven from Rome, and Gregory and Benedict asserted their claims to the Papacy, whereupon the Emperor convoked a General Council at Constance.

The fathers of the Council decided that all three Popes should renounce their claims, and elected Pope Martin V.

Pope John signed the renunciation, but, being encouraged by Frederick of Austria, he retired from the city, and sought to resume his authority by ordering the Council to dissolve. The members, however, solemnly declared that a General Council once assembled was superior to the Pope, and continued their deliberations, which were chiefly concerned with the following objects:—

1. The union of the Catholic Church.
2. The reformation of the clergy.
3. The condemnation of heretical doctrines.
4. The organization of a fresh crusade against the Turks.

Through the legate's intervention a two years' truce was concluded, according to which all the conquered possessions were restored. Jagello, finding himself unable to pay his mercenaries, took refuge in Lithuania, leaving the hirelings to recoup themselves by ravaging the Polish provinces. A large majority of the knights, and of the Prussians as well, who had been formerly opposed to Plauen, gradually found out the mistake they had made in supporting Kuchmeister, a man guided solely by personal ambition. All the principal places were occupied by his creatures, whose arbitrary measures and exactions soon extinguished their former popularity. In the followers of Wicliffe and Huss the ex-Grand Master had found his staunchest supporters, and every day their adherents increased in number. In the town of

Dantzic, Tidemann, relation of the former burgo-master, possessed so much influence that he was allowed to preach the Hussite doctrines openly. Von Plauen's adherents styled themselves the members of "the Golden Fleece," and their opponents assumed the cognomen of members of "the Golden Ship," both parties designating each other by the most opprobrious nicknames.

Just at the time when the Reform doctrines of Huss appeared to be rapidly gaining ground, the two principal leaders, Tidemann, whom we have just mentioned, and the Comthur of Dantzic, died suddenly, and their followers attributed their deaths to poison.

Kuchmeister, fearing that the dissensions in the Order, and the discontent which prevailed in the towns, would bring about a revolution, summoned a Grand Chapter on the 1st of January, 1416, together with a Diet, at Braunsberg, to which were invited all the prelates, the principal nobles, and the representatives of different towns. The bishops and citizens called upon the Grand Master to restore intact their former privileges, and proposed that a council of state should be nominated, consisting of the most learned and experienced men of the country, without whose concurrence no change in the laws should be made. The members were to be ten knights and two representatives from the towns of Elbing, Thorn, Dantzic, Königsberg, and Culm. The Grand Master agreed to this proposal,

and also promised to do his utmost to introduce a better description of coin into the country; but he soon discovered that he never would be able to make the Diet subservient to his rule unless he gained over the bishops and clergy, many of whom were adherents of Von Plauen. The decision which the Council of Constance had arrived at, as to the condemnation of all those who professed or taught the doctrines of the Reformers, enabled the Grand Master to adopt coercive measures against his opponents. Thus he obtained the upper hand in the Diet, which, by his influence, established an inquisitorial council, having the right of inspecting and suppressing by purchase the writings of any one suspected of heretical doctrines.

His siding with the priestly party naturally embittered the feeling of hostility which the mechanics of the large towns entertained towards him. It would seem that the principal strength of the Reformers lay in the great number of artisans who joined them. Dantzic especially, being one of the largest employers of labour, contained many supporters of the new doctrines. This, coupled with the fact that certain citizens had always been ready to resist the authority of the Order, soon led to fresh disputes. The burgomaster, Gert von der Bek, who was a creature of Kuchmeister, had, through his political connexion with the chamberlain of the Comthur of Dantzic, managed to get himself constantly nominated as President of the

Municipal Council, and was thus enabled to carry out the secret instructions of the Grand Master. His arbitrary measures at last produced a revolt amongst the lower orders, and he would without doubt have lost his life had he taken part in the procession of Corpus Christi, in the year 1416; but, fortunately for him, he effected his escape from the town. The enraged mob plundered the town-hall, the house of the burgomaster, and the Mint; they also seized the keys of the city gates. The council took refuge in the castle, but the garrison appears to have been unable to subdue the revolt, and the Grand Master himself had to come to Dantzic to appease the discontent.

The reluctance of Kuchmeister to put down the revolt with his mercenaries appears to be due to the fear that the Dantzigers were in communication with the Poles, and Lithuanians, whose agents, it was well known, had taken up residence in various parts of the country. Indeed, Vitold's captain of artillery had been arrested at Marienburg under very suspicious circumstances, on a charge, namely, of having attempted to gain over several of the guards, with the object of destroying the powder-magazines.

Kuchmeister's efforts to bring about order were fruitless, and he returned to the Diet, which was then sitting at Mewe, to which place the representatives of Dantzic followed him. Here it was arranged that they should unite in quelling the tumult, but that only the instigators should be



punished. Order having been now restored, eighteen persons were executed, forty were exiled, and those who had suffered from the revolt were indemnified.

To prevent the recurrence of similar disorders, all artisans and mechanics were ordered to bring to the town-hall any arms, offensive or defensive, which they might have in their possession, and it was enacted that every mechanic on attaining the age of manhood should take an oath of obedience to the orders of the town council. It was declared illegal for even four artisans to assemble together, and any person speaking disrespectfully of his superiors was liable to be arrested.

During the two years' truce, both Vitold and Jagello had done their utmost to secure the favour of the Council of Constance.

Paulus Wladimir, Rector of the Academy at Cracow, advocated the cause of the Poles, and the Cardinal Francesco of Florence together with two members of each of the four nations represented at the Council were appointed arbitrators in the matter. On the 5th of July, Wladimir gave in his charge against the Order. It is a noteworthy fact that on this very day John Huss and Jean Petit received their sentence of condemnation. A day or two afterwards Wladimir's indictment, consisting of fifty charges, was entered in the minutes of the Council. In this document he sought to prove that neither the Pope nor the Emperor could authorize

the Order to forcibly annex the property of the heathens in order to convert them. But, unfortunately for the learned doctor, in another part of the document he states that the Pope, having the right of disposing of all countries, could command the heathens to embrace Christianity, and on refusal could punish them and call in the assistance of the temporal power; and that the Order, by countenancing the followers of Huss, had placed itself in the same category as the heathens.

As a further proof of his ardour for the Catholic religion, Jagello, on the 28th of November, 1415, despatched a number of newly converted Samogitians to the Council, with the request that an increased number of missionaries should be sent to their country. This was agreed to on the 9th of February, 1416.

Unfortunately for the Order, the Archbishop Johann of Riga, who, as a member of the body, they expected would have defended their cause, severely criticized their aggressive policy with respect to the temporal rights of the bishops. These attacks he reiterated with increased violence on retiring from the Order and becoming Bishop of Liège.

It would seem that the members of the Council did not consider it advisable to request the opinion of their judicial advisers, either on Wladimir's indictment or on the defence of the Order by Justinus de Juvenacio, Ardecinas de Novaria, Henricus de

Piro, and Caspar Schoenplug. So no final decision was arrived at, and Kuchmeister, fearing that Vitold and Jagello would receive the support of the Pope and the Emperor, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Khan of Tartary. Jagello, hearing of this, in an interview with the Grand Master at Wielun declared he would not renew the truce unless the Grand Master broke off his connexion with the Tartars, and, to give greater force to his pretensions, he massed a considerable army on the frontiers of Prussia. The Grand Master was thus compelled to request the mediation of Sigismund and the King of France, and by their intervention a truce was renewed for another two years between Poland and Prussia. This enabled Kuchmeister to direct his attention to the financial condition of the country, and to redeem his promise concerning the coinage, for in the year 1417 all the old issue was withdrawn and new money substituted. The export of coin to foreign countries was also prohibited.

The affairs of the Order began now to brighten. There had been a plentiful harvest, and corn was cheaper than it had been for many years. A long and severe winter had contributed to check choleraic disease, and to improve the sanitary condition of the towns. The Order had also enlisted the support of various influential German nobles, who were adopted into it as half-brothers. Among these were the Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg, Count

Henry of the Rhine, Duke Louis of Brieg, and the High Count of Hungary.

As the termination of the truce approached, both the Order and the King of Poland did their utmost to obtain the support of the Council of Constance, and Jagello had recourse to his former tactics. As a fresh proof of his attachment to the Catholic Church, he despatched to the Council several Greek bishops, who were instructed to declare that their sole reason for undertaking the journey was to personally acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. Unfortunately for the King of Poland, upon these worthy prelates being examined separately, they declared that the above was not correct, and that they had been forced by Jagello to undertake the journey, and had no desire whatever to belong to the Catholic Church. At last, the Council despatched two legates, Jacob, Bishop of Spoleto, and Ferdinand, Bishop of Lucca, to Poland to arrange a peace; but the concessions demanded from the Order made this impossible. The legates thereupon went to Thorn, where, after having carefully investigated the complaints of the Order against the Poles and Lithuanians, they gave their decision in favour of the knights, and exhorted the inhabitants of Prussia to assist them to the utmost, should hostilities recommence.

In the year 1418 a most important event took place, namely, the marriage of Vitold, with a view to the succession of his line to the Polish

crown on the death of Jagello, who was childless.

In 1419 the Order offered to cede to Poland several districts, and to pay the sum of 30,000 gulden, in the event of a satisfactory peace being concluded. This proposal was rejected by the Poles, who, from the internal dissensions in Prussia, anticipated an early subjugation of the country.

In dealing with the Pope and the Emperor, the great difficulty which Jagello had to surmount was the disapproval of the damaging evidence given before the Papal legates at Thorn. As soon as Pope Martin V. declared that the result of the investigation at Thorn would not be taken into account in any fresh deliberations, the King of Poland declared his readiness to accept the mediation of Sigismund. Wenceslaus having died about this time, the Emperor was sorely pressed by the Hussites in Bohemia, and his Slavonic provinces were in constant rebellion.\*

The Emperor of Germany gladly accepted the office of mediator, as it had been a very important source of profit to him, and had enabled him to pre-

\* After the death of John Huss, the Bohemians revolted and placed themselves under the Hussite leader Zisca, a man of extraordinary powers, who took possession of Prague and defeated Sigismund in several battles. On the death of Zisca, the warfare between the Bohemian Hussites and the imperial troops continued until the convocation of the Council of Basle in 1431, where, after long conferences, certain concessions were granted to the Hussites, and a general amnesty declared for all past offences.

serve the balance of power between the countries in litigation. He therefore declared that he would give his decision at Michaelmas, 1419, but, by the request of both parties, it was postponed to the commencement of 1420. The decision is dated from Breslau, and the terms were as follows:—

The treaty of Thorn was to remain intact; the frontiers of Prussia were to remain as described in former treaties. This held good also as regards Masovia and Samogitia, which were declared to belong to Jagello and Vitold during their lifetime. Neither of the contracting parties was to erect any castle or building in the territory of the other. The Order had to level the castle and mill of Lübitsch, and to pay the King of Poland the sum of 25,000 ducats in two instalments for the rebuilding of Slotoria. The King of Poland, on the other hand, was to restore Jesnick to the Order; all prisoners on both sides were to be at once released; and, should either party violate the treaty, the offender was to pay a fine of 10,000 marks. Finally, Sigismund retained the right of deciding in any future dispute. The envoys of the Grand Master immediately accepted the decision; but it is stated that the Polish envoys were speechless with astonishment. They retired from the Emperor's presence without making any verbal statement, and left the town in great haste, to communicate the untoward issue to Jagello and Vitold, who were at the time in Lithuania. The chagrin and indignation of the

two princes were so great, that they remained up the whole night, it is said, in deliberation. Jagello despatched envoys to the Emperor, to remonstrate with him in the strongest terms on the way in which he had favoured the Order, and also to convey his absolute refusal to acquiesce in the decision. What must have chiefly embittered Jagello against Sigismund was the fact that the concessions which the Order had, on a former occasion, voluntarily offered to make were more favourable than the terms of the present decision. Although Jagello and Vitold had at this period greatly increased their strength, and their respective countries were in the most prosperous condition, yet they well knew that, in case of war, the knights could count on considerable assistance from Germany and other parts of Europe. Jagello was therefore determined to wait for some plausible pretext for breaking the truce. This object was soon realized, for, the Order being unable to pay the third instalment of the indemnity in gold, on account of the scarcity of that metal, offered in lieu thereof the sum of 2,500 gulden in silver, which Jagello declined to accept, as being at variance with the articles of the treaty. The two princes immediately began to increase their armaments, so as to be able to commence hostilities in the ensuing summer. Jagello also, in order to gain a powerful ally, gave his daughter Hedwig in marriage to Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg; at the same time, he consented to the truce for another

year, anticipating fresh internal troubles in Prussia. The sole effect of the moderation which the Grand Master had displayed towards the Hanseatic Confederation was that the latter, in the year 1420, demanded the total abolition of the pfundzoll (tonnage and poundage). Their application does not appear to have been answered, for we find in the following year the towns despatching envoys to the Grand Master on the subject, and their demeanour was so threatening that he agreed to abolish the tax; for they not only demanded its repeal, but also that the money already received from this tax should be refunded. This latter demand the deputies did not press, on the total abolition being sanctioned.

The repeal of this lucrative impost caused a great diminution in the revenue, which could not at that time be made up by any fresh taxes. As the truce was now drawing to its end, Pope Martin V. despatched a legate named Antonius Zeno to Prussia, to try to bring about its prolongation, failing which he was commissioned to make a thorough investigation into the points at issue and report accordingly.

The great difficulties which now beset the Grand Master, coupled with the want of union amongst the knights, led to his resignation; and, at his own request, in 1422, he was appointed Comthur of Dantzic, which post he held until his death, which took place two years afterwards. Kuchmeister was no doubt a man of considerable capacity, and had displayed no little talent as a military leader. From



the moment, however, that he took the leadership of Plauen's opponents, he lost a considerable amount of respect amongst all classes in Prussia; and it may be briefly stated that the causes which led to his fall were those which brought him into power. During his rule the internal and external trade of Prussia had greatly decreased, and its flag was no longer respected on the seas. The protectionist policy of Kuchmeister had driven from its great commercial emporiums most of the foreign merchants.

The weakness of the Order now gave the people a voice in the government of the country; but, unfortunately for themselves, they had forced the Grand Master to grant them concessions which were incompatible with their own welfare.

Turbulent factions existed in all the large towns, and the citizens already displayed a spirit of insubordination, which culminated in a general revolt of the large towns and the formation of a confederation in opposition to the authority of the Grand Master.

## CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1422—1441.

**Election of Von Rusdorf—Release and Death of Von Plauen—Jagello invades Prussia—Capture of Culm—Peace with Poland—Opposition of the Deutschmaster—Concessions to English Merchants—Vitold seeks to be crowned King of Lithuania—The Coronation prevented by Jagello—Vitold's Death (1430)—Formation of the "Landesrath"—High Court of Justice at Elbing—Poll-Tax Imposed (1433)—Truce of Lensitz—Death of Jagello (1434)—Peace of Brzesc (1436)—Alliance with the Hansa—Disputes with the Deutschmaster—Defection of the Dantzigers—Formation of the "Bund" or "League" by the Chief Towns of Prussia—Early Career of Hans von Baysen—Meeting of the Grand Master with the two Masters at Dantzic (1440)—Death of Von Rusdorf (1441).**

THE resignation of Kuchmeister increased the confusion and dissensions among the knights. For some time it was found impossible to elect a Grand Master, on account of the brotherhood being split up into so many different factions, each of which desired its own particular leader to be elected. At last it was agreed that all the claimants to the office should withdraw, and by this device Paul Bellinger

von Rusdorf, of the province of Carniola, was elected Grand Master on the 10th of March, 1422. Some historians say that he was chosen unanimously immediately on the resignation of Kuchmeister.

He had had a varied and extensive experience in the discharge of official duties connected with the Order, in the troublous times of the last two Grand Masters, and was Trapierer at the time of his election.

To the credit of the new Grand Master, it must be stated that his first efforts were to assuage the jealousies amongst the knights by friendly mediation, and he acted similarly in the case of the towns. He released Von Plauen from close confinement in Lochstadt, and allowed him a certain amount of freedom ; and on the death of the latter, six months afterwards, he ordered his interment in the vault of the Grand Masters at Marienburg with the usual ceremonies.

Sigismund at this time, alarmed at the rapidly increasing power of Poland and Lithuania, assured the new Grand Master of his friendly disposition, and the Papal legate then in Prussia also expressed himself ready to do his best to cement the good feeling between the Pope and the Order. Unfortunately the Margrave of Brandenburg, at the instigation of Jagello, now came forward as a claimant to the Neumark, a proof that this province was to be the Margrave's reward, should he and Jagello be successful against Prussia. On the arrival

of the Papal legate in Poland, Jagello lost no opportunity of displaying his respect to the Emperor and the Pope, as a mask for his intrigues with the Hussites in Bohemia. He secretly despatched Sigismund Koribut, the brother of Vitold, to Bohemia to assume the command of the Hussites, and induce the Bohemians to elect him as king of their country. The Pope, aware of Jagello's machinations, wrote to the Grand Master on the 28th of April, 1422, urging him to send immediate assistance to Sigismund, and promising his protection should Jagello and the Margrave of Brandenburg attack Prussia.

The Grand Master, however, had not sufficient troops at his command at this time to despatch to Bohemia. He therefore ordered special prayers to be read and sermons to be preached in the churches, and that collections should be made to assist Sigismund in his contests with the Hussites. In return, Sigismund ordered his Hungarian and Silesian troops to ravage the frontiers of Poland. He also compelled the Margrave of Brandenburg to allow the free passage through his territory of the auxiliaries who were on the way to Prussia, and had been raised at the Emperor's request by the different German princes. Sigismund also called upon the Hanseatic Confederation and the imperial towns to send supplies in money to the Order.

On the 29th of July the Polish army, numbering 100,000 men, crossed the Prussian frontier and

advanced on Thorn, which was insufficiently defended. The Grand Master, knowing the numerical superiority of the enemy, determined to remain on the defensive, and, if possible, to prevent the Poles advancing on the town with their entire army. On the enemy's approach, the Marshal of the Order became convinced that he was not sufficiently strong to oppose its advance, and retired to defend the passage of the Drewenz, a manœuvre in which he was only partly successful. Before effecting the passage of the Drewenz, Jagello had attempted to capture Löbau, but without effect.

The Grand Master now despatched reinforcements to those garrisons which were in want of troops, and contented himself for the time with sending a force of 8,000 men to invade and devastate Poland; making at the same time dispositions for cutting off the retreat of the Poles should they decide upon returning. Jagello, finding that he could not bring on an engagement with the Marshal, now divided his army for the investment of the different strongholds. He burnt Riesenburg and captured Golub, but was repulsed with considerable loss in attempting to storm Schönsee. The Poles also appear to have been generally successful in various small encounters, and ravaged all the districts through which they passed. Jagello attempted to follow up his success by the capture of Thorn, but only succeeded in destroying its suburbs by fire. After this he advanced on Culm, which,

being improperly garrisoned, after a short resistance fell into his hands. Although Rusdorf had at this time received reinforcements under Dietrich, Archbishop of Cologne, the Count Palatine Louis, and Henry, Duke of Bavaria, still the exhausted condition of the treasury, the dissatisfaction existing amongst many influential members of the Order, and the utter want of means to pay the mercenaries, appear to have induced him to treat for peace, and a treaty was concluded, in many respects most humiliating, of which the following were the chief articles:—1. That all the ecclesiastical domains in Prussia should remain as heretofore. 2. That the district of Nessau and the villages of Orlou, Munzinou, and Neuwiese should be ceded to Poland, the destruction of the castle of Nessau being, however, permitted before handing over the district. 3. That a frontier line should be drawn from the centre of the Vistula, at its junction with the Drewenz, to the old frontiers of Pomerania and Bromberg, and that all the islands within these limits should belong to Poland. The same held good with regard to duties. The proceeds of the revenue arising from the ferry over the Vistula at Thorn were to be equally divided between the Poles and the Order. A commission was to assemble for the purpose of deciding the frontiers of Poland and Pomerania, also of Culm, the Neumark, and Michelau; and Masovia was to retain its former boundaries. Samogitia and Sudauen were to belong to

the King of Poland and to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At the same time the frontiers of Liefland, Russia, Lithuania, and Samogitia were defined. The intercourse between the two countries was to remain on the same footing as before the war, and all fugitive criminals were to be surrendered to the proper authorities.

It was further stipulated that all documents concerning treaties, privileges, or territory ceded to Poland by the Order, together with the original papers concerning the peace at Thorn, and the imperial decisions given at Ofen and Breslau, as well as the papers received from Jagello relating to Samogitia, Sudauen, and Liefland, should be handed over to the King of Poland. All privileges and rights which the knights possessed at variance with the conditions of this treaty were henceforth to be annulled. In consideration of these great concessions, the possession of Pomerania, Culm, and Michelau was reguaranteed to the Order. No demands for indemnity were to be made on account of the expenses incurred by the contracting parties. For the prevention of further hostilities it was publicly proclaimed that, should either government declare war, the subjects of the one which took the initiative had the right to decline to take part in it. During the negotiations it would seem that the Grand Master was aware of the fact that, through the influence of the Emperor and the Pope, a considerable number of troops were advancing from

Germany to his assistance, and that he could count on further aid if necessary. He, however, considered it advisable to send messengers to arrest the advance of the reinforcements.

In these transactions the Grand Master appears to have shown considerable want of determination and foresight. He knew that a large number of the citizens of the unruly towns had not forgotten the extravagant privileges which the King of Poland had formerly guaranteed them. He must have been aware that, by declaring himself the opponent of the Hussites, and champion of the orthodox faith, the Emperor and the general mass of Catholics would support him—above all, against Vitold and Jagello, who, from their Hussite proclivities and alliance with the Tartars, were looked upon as worse than heathens. The Deutschmaster, Eberhard von Sohnsheim, was the first to denounce this unfortunate peace. Fearing that certain German domains which belonged to the Order would be either pledged or sold by the Grand Master, to cover the wants of the treasury, he entered into an arrangement with the Duke of Bavaria for the latter to occupy them. Many Prussians declared that this treaty was not valid unless it received the sanction of the Emperor Sigismund, on account of the understanding come to with that sovereign that he should act as mediator. The Poles therefore remained under arms, and the Grand Master was obliged to do the same.



Eventually, in the year 1423, on Jagello promising to renounce his alliance with the Hussites, Sigismund sanctioned the treaty, and the Order forthwith carried out their engagements. Jagello, who had during the time of the negotiations become reconciled with the Pope, and had received from him absolution for all former offences, now abandoned the Hussites to the fury of their opponents. This line of policy was, of course, far from meeting with the approval of Vitold, who had hoped to get his brother elected King of Bohemia; and he consequently now seems to have become a strong supporter of the Order. On the other hand, the Pope openly entertained the complaints which the unruly subjects of the Grand Master made against the latter.

It is related that in 1426 a certain nobleman from Pomesania, whose property had been confiscated by the Order, brought his case under the notice of the Holy See, and the Abbot of Stolpe was commanded to investigate the matter. If it turned out that the Grand Master was in the wrong, he was to be ordered to reverse his decision, on pain of excommunication.

Another difficulty now sprang up. The Archbishop of Riga, Hennig Scharfenberg, who had been appointed to the see against the wish of the Grand Master, summoned a provincial synod, for the purpose of making ecclesiastical changes, and more especially to give the bishops greater independence.

The Prussian prelates who were summoned refused to be present, and were supported by the Grand Master, who, under various pretexts, succeeded in inducing the archbishop not to insist on their attendance.

Turning to the internal administration of the Grand Master, we find him granting to all the commercial ports exclusive management of their shipping affairs and commercial transactions. Any vessels which were compelled to seek refuge in Prussian ports, through stress of weather or other causes, were to be supplied for three days with bread and fuel. During this period the vessels or boats had to comply with all the rules of the Order. Again, Prussian subjects were strictly forbidden to appeal to any foreign potentate—a measure directed against the interference of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Hanseatic Confederacy in the affairs of the Order. The constant concessions which the Grand Master was granting to the towns resulted in their demanding that the English traders should no longer have the right of exportation from Prussia, a request having for its object a direct violation of the former international treaty concluded with England.

The Hanseatic towns, which at this time were engaged in open hostilities with the Danes, would seem to have entered into an arrangement with the merchants of Dantzic, whose vessels were constantly captured by Danish cruisers, to make a joint attack

on the Danish fleet, which then occupied the Sound to prevent the passage of the Hanseatic vessels. It was arranged that a number of ships belonging to Lubeck and Hamburg should attempt to pass the Sound, in conjunction with a convoy from Dantzic, and that the said convoy should be protected by several armed vessels. The Lubeckers were the first to arrive at the spot appointed for the junction of the two fleets. Finding the Prussian vessels did not appear, they attempted the passage of the Sound, but were driven back by the Danes with loss. The Prussian fleet now arrived, and, seeing that they were no match for their antagonists, returned to Dantzic. The King of Denmark, however, agreed that his cruisers should not in future molest the flag of Prussia, and that he would give every encouragement for the promotion of a friendly intercourse between the two countries.

In the years 1427-28 Prussia suffered greatly from destructive inundations, through the Vistula and Nogat having overflowed their banks; the harvest was thus totally destroyed, and a great scarcity of provisions ensued. This was followed by a plague, and it has been calculated that nearly 100,000 people died, either from starvation or from disease.

We have seen that Vitold was greatly displeased with Jagello for having renounced the cause of his brother in Bohemia. The Order had availed themselves of this jealousy to renew their offers of

acknowledging him King of Lithuania, with the promise that they would induce Sigismund to obtain the consent of the King of Poland. Jagello, with his usual hypocrisy, informed Vitold that he had no objection to his assuming the crown, if the Polish and Lithuanian nobles gave their consent; and he shortly after, in an interview with Sigismund, reiterated the statement. At the meeting of the Polish and Lithuanian representatives, over which Vitold presided, the Poles would not hear of the project. Jagello now despatched envoys to Kaschau, in Hungary, where Sigismund then was, to inform him that, as the nobles could come to no decision, he did not consider it advisable for the coronation to take place. Sigismund on his part expressed his determination not to break faith with Vitold, whereupon Jagello, to gain over the Order, offered to renounce for ever any claims he might have on the Neumark or Driesen, overtures which were at once accepted, though he postponed ratifying the treaty for four weeks.

Vitold, finding that he could not obtain the sanction of his coronation by Jagello, despatched to him an ultimatum, demanding whether Jagello intended keeping his plighted word, to which the King replied that he could not give any definite answer until the question had been decided by the Polish Diet.

The envoys thereupon asked the King whether he considered Vitold a vassal of the Crown of Poland,

to which he replied in the affirmative. Jagello, with a view of hampering Sigismund, now commenced intriguing with the Turks to induce them to break the three years' truce concluded with the Emperor.

His emissaries also secretly instigated the Hussites to invade the Neumark and Prussia in the ensuing year. Sigismund, fearing that this would force the Order to break with him, on the 17th of September solemnly surrendered to it the unconditional proprietorship of the Neumark, withdrawing at the same time the power of repurchase.

In return for this, the Grand Master sent a contingent of knights to the Danube, for the purpose of superintending the erection of several forts to protect the country from the Turks. This contingent left Prussia in May, 1429, under the command of a knight named Klaus von Redwitz, a confidential adviser of the Emperor, for the purpose of establishing a regular military frontier colony, and to take the post of representative of the Order in Hungary.

During these various negotiations the export trade of Prussia was in a most languishing condition, due principally to the war which was then raging between Denmark and the Hanseatic towns, in spite of the mediation of the Grand Master. Added to this, the numbers and audacity of the pirates had greatly increased.

After Jagello's answer to Vitold's ultimatum con-

cerning his coronation, the latter had arranged to receive the crown from the Emperor's hand. The King of Poland, finding that Vitold was determined to have himself crowned, posted emissaries on the frontiers to prevent the passage of the envoys who were conveying the crown from Sigismund, and the Archbishop of Madgeburg, who was to perform the ceremony, was also prevented from crossing the frontier. In the month of September the Grand Master and his chief officers arrived at Wilna to assist at the coronation, and were entertained with great splendour. On a sudden, Vitold was informed that Jagello was on his way to Wilna to be present at the ceremony. On the Polish King's arrival, a conference was held between himself, Vitold, and the Grand Master, together with their principal advisers.

Vitold here demanded that he should be made arbitrator between the King of Poland and the King of the Romans, and that he should also act in a similar capacity between the former and the Order; likewise that Jagello should give his assent to the coronation.

Jagello consented to the first proposition, provided Sigismund gave in his adhesion. Regarding the other two demands, he repeated his former declaration, that he could give no answer without first consulting the Polish Diet.

The crown not arriving, the Grand Master, Jagello, and the rest of the guests left Wilna. The

rage of Vitold at this failure to achieve his object was unbounded. He wrote to Sigismund, describing, in the bitterest terms, the postponement of his coronation through the intrigues of Jagello, and requesting the Emperor to send the crown to Lithuania secretly. Sigismund, indignant at the insulting conduct of the Polish King, ordered the assembling of a considerable force to convey the crown to Wilna.

Vitold then, knowing that this would immediately lead to a rupture between Poland and Lithuania, requested the Emperor not to take further action until he had again tried to arrange the matter by friendly means.

Vitold had accompanied Jagello for this purpose as far as Troky; but here he fell sick, and, after an illness of fourteen days, expired, at the age of eighty, on the 27th of October, 1430. Before his death he became reconciled to Jagello, and resigned Lithuania to the governorship of his widow Juliana. Thus died, unfortunately for the Order without issue, one of the ablest men and most unscrupulous intriguers of his time. That he was a great statesman and warrior, his most bitter enemies, the Poles, do not deny. As regards determination of character he was far superior to his cousin Jagello, and fully equal to him in duplicity. The Emperor Sigismund regarded him as a means by which the balance of power between the Order and Poland might be maintained, and it was on this

account that he had undertaken to acknowledge him as king. The prevailing trait of Vitold's character was ambition, and throughout all his rule he never lost sight of the one great object of his life—to become King of Poland. Strange as it may seem, it was with this aim in view that he so often assisted his cousin Jagello in his wars with the Order. When at last, on the birth of an heir to the Polish crown, Vitold lost all hope of succeeding, he allied himself with the Order and the Emperor Sigismund.

In the year 1430 the citizens of Prussia obtained a fresh increase of authority in the affairs of government, by the creation of a chamber called the "Landesrath," composed of the Grand Master and six officers of the Order, six prelates, six burgesses, and six members from the country districts. This chamber was to assemble once a year, and no law could be enacted or amended, no fresh taxes could be levied, without its sanction. As regards taxation, however, the Grand Master retained for himself and the Order all those privileges which had been sanctioned by the Emperor and the Pope. But these reforms were in advance of the age, and hence failed to accomplish their object.

On Vitold's death there were four aspirants to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania:—Prince Sigismund, Vitold's brother; Alexander von Kiew; Sigismund Koribut; and Swidrigail, cousin to Vitold, and Jagello's brother.



Swidrigail lost no time in seizing the reins of government without consulting Jagello, who himself claimed the duchy as a bequest from Vitold. The Grand Duke was fully supported by the Grand Master, the result of which was that war was abruptly declared between Jagello and the Order. No sooner did the Grand Master propose that a considerable force should be sent to assist Swidrigail than the Prussians raised all kinds of objections. Nevertheless the Grand Master, as soon as he had collected a sufficient force, advanced at the head of two armies into Poland; but Jagello, who had profited by the delay to induce Swidrigail to conclude a two years' peace, was now able to direct his entire force against the knights, who were compelled to retire, and near Tauchel they were attacked by the Poles and suffered some loss. Jagello, profiting by this withdrawal of the invading army from his territory, excited a revolution against Swidrigail, who was suddenly attacked and defeated by a body of his great nobles under the leadership of Sigismund, Vitold's brother, at Oschmjana, in August, 1432, he himself escaping with great difficulty to a strong castle on the frontier of Liefland. Sigismund was then proclaimed Grand Duke of Lithuania, a willing instrument of Jagello.

In 1431 the Hussites, having concluded an alliance with Jagello, under the command of their leader Czapko, invaded the Neumark, which they ravaged and devastated. This movement was followed by

the advance of a large Polish army into Pomerellen. In attempting to besiege Tauchel the Poles suffered a severe check, being driven, by a well-directed artillery fire, from the suburbs, and finally from their fortified camp. The Poles now advanced towards the fortress of Konitz, and, having effected a junction with the Bohemians, commenced the siege of that important place. Mining operations having failed, in an attempt to scale the walls they were repulsed with severe loss, and, their supply of provisions being cut off, they were driven to a disastrous retreat.

After this defeat the Poles and Bohemians plundered the cloister of Pelplin, and then advanced on Dirschau, whose wealth had at this time greatly increased. Here, having plundered and burned the suburbs, they retired as usual ; unfortunately, however, for the inhabitants, the wind blew the flames towards the town and castle, which in a very short time caught fire ; the Poles and Bohemians returned, when a terrible scene ensued ; the greater part of the population were either burned to death, killed, or drowned in attempting to cross the Vistula. Upwards of 10,000 human beings are said to have lost their lives. The Bohemians burned alive all those Hussites who had joined the Order.

The Bohemian army now besieged Dantzic, which was weakly garrisoned. About 800 seamen, to avenge the terrible fate of some comrades who had been burned alive, took up arms, and, in conjunction

with 2,000 citizens, offered their services to the Comthur. The commandant, fearing that the numerical superiority of the Bohemians would eventually secure to them the possession of the town, began negotiations, and, had it not been for the gallant bravery of eight citizens, Dantzic would probably have surrendered. These sturdy burghers suddenly, in the dead of night, sallied from the gates and seized an entrenchment, which they successfully held during the following day, killing upwards of 200 of their enemies. In their attempt to return to the town the next night they were surrounded, and fell, fighting bravely. This created such an impression on the Poles, coupled with the knowledge that they would have to encounter the fierce resistance of the sailors of Dantzic, that they contented themselves with proceeding to the sea-shore, where they filled several bottles with salt water, and retraced their steps to Bohemia, capturing as they retired the castle of Jesnitz, and putting the garrison to the sword, with the exception of some knights, whom they detained for ransom.

The Grand Master Von Rusdorf, finding that Swidrigail, notwithstanding his recent check, still possessed a considerable party in Lithuania, which would in all probability greatly increase as soon as the inhabitants felt the pressure of the Polish yoke, called together the Great Diet at Marienburg to ask their consent to a second campaign and for the necessary funds. The representatives both of town

and country at first strongly opposed Von Rusdorf, but at a second conclave a reluctant consent was wrung from the Diet, which stipulated, however, that the expense should be borne by the Order and their Lithuanian allies.

On the 25th of January, 1432, the Diet decided that the Order should raise 2,000 pikemen at its own cost, while the country would raise and support 1,000 for three months. The bishoprics and domains belonging to the Order had also to contribute their quota for the defence of the country. To lessen the repugnance of the Diet to the commencement of hostilities, the Grand Master proposed the formation of a privy council, composed of representatives of the Diet, for the purpose of transacting such business during the war as could not be delayed. The nobility, having in view the lion's share of the plunder, accordingly selected those of their party who they knew would carry out their object. The deputies from the towns, however, consented to the formation of this council only on certain conditions. They were willing to leave to its decision questions of war or peace and the conclusion of treaties, but they required that no act of the council should be valid without the unanimous vote of the members. The council were to communicate the result of the vote to the Diet, without the consent of which body no tax, duty, or impost could be levied.

Besides the establishment of the privy council,

the Diet further enacted that no one, even if accused of treachery or high treason, could be executed without a regular trial. Any person who believed that his privileges had been in any way interfered with by a superior, might appear before a court to be held annually at Elbing, composed of the Grand Master, his principal officers, and prelates, who were bound to give judgment in accordance with the laws of the country.

In 1433 the Grand Master requested the Diet to sanction a liquor tax for two years, offering to make great concessions to the towns. They nevertheless refused to pass the law, but granted a poll tax. Every man of position had to pay a mark, and persons of inferior rank a smaller sum, no one being exempted except priests, monks, pastors, minors, and women. This tax appears to have been a failure.

All these concessions naturally greatly weakened the power of the Order, yet the old feeling of unity amongst its members and dependents was revived by the rise of the citizen class. The gradually increasing weakness of the personal authority of the Grand Master in Prussia was soon taken advantage of by foreigners. The first loss the Order experienced was the seizure of all their estates in Roumania by a certain Dispotto. The King of Aragon also applied to the Pope to be allowed to lay violent hands on the property of the brotherhood in his dominions; and had it not been for the intestine struggles raging in Lithuania, and the

incursions of the Tartars and Wallachians, the Order would probably have been stripped of all their foreign possessions, and Prussia reduced to a fief of Poland.

The Poles, who desired peace on account of their own troubles, now made overtures to the Order, and some of the deputies at the Council of Basle offered to mediate; but these advances were not accepted, as the prospects of the Order commenced to brighten. Louis, Duke of Silesia, was at that time devastating the adjoining Polish territory; several German nobles had promised to reinforce the knights, and many Polish magnates in Masovia had offered to swear allegiance to the Grand Master. Furthermore, Sigismund felt great difficulty in holding his own in Lithuania against Swidrigail and his followers; whilst the Tartars, under Phetko von Ostrog, were ravaging Podolia.

At length, however, after considerable difficulty, a twelve years' truce was concluded at Lensitz between the Poles and the Order. Jagello, who was very advanced in years, now despatched Bishop Stigneus to Basle to crave the Pope's forgiveness for all shortcomings; but the prelate, before leaving, in the presence of the entire Court, reproved the King severely for the sad condition to which he had reduced the country. The old King at first wept, then showed signs of irritation at the boldness of the bishop, but finding little sympathy from those present, he left the audience-chamber with loud

cries and lamentations. During the short period which elapsed between this scene and his death, which took place on the 13th of May, 1434, at Grodeck, Jagello did his utmost to repair the mischief he had caused Poland by his ambitious and unscrupulous policy. He was succeeded by his son Wladislaus II.

The Emperor Sigismund now declared the twelve years' truce null and void, as he had not been consulted, and called upon the knights to invade Poland. The Grand Master was however unable, from the strong opposition he met with, to raise the necessary funds, and reluctantly confirmed the peace with the Poles at Brzesc, on the 31st of December, 1436. By the terms of this treaty it was agreed that the past should be forgotten, that those priests who had been expelled from their cures should be allowed to return, and their sequestrated stipends should be repaid to them. The alliance of the knights with Swidrigail was to be broken off. The Order undertook not to support any Lithuanian or Polish noble to the detriment of his sovereign liege and master, and to acknowledge no other prince as Grand Duke of Lithuania than the one selected by the King of Poland, who solemnly undertook not to countenance the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, or any other potentate in any proceeding contrary to the interests of the Order. It was settled that the frontiers of Pomerellen should be the same as those defined by Casimir and the Grand Master Heinrich Dusmer.

The fortress Jesnitz was to remain in the hands of the Order, but Nessau was ceded for ever to the Poles. To settle the oft-disputed question of the frontiers of the Neumark, the two contracting parties were each to select three commissioners to define them. Should these not agree, the King of Poland and the Grand Master were to draw lots, and whoever was successful should nominate six of his opponent's subjects, whose decision as to the boundary line was to be final. The lot falling to the King of Poland, he selected Francis, Bishop of Ermland, and five others, but he at the same time insisted on their determining that the rivers Birzwennick and Notess should constitute the boundaries. Samogitia and Sudauen were thus guaranteed to Poland for ever. It was further agreed that all political fugitives and criminals should be at once delivered up to their own sovereign. No one was to be allowed to interfere with the trade or the sojourn of merchants in the countries of the contracting parties. It was also mutually agreed that no alien hostile force should be permitted to pass through the territories of either party. The ferries at Slotoria, Soletz, and Fordau to be free to both nations. All mortgages which the Order had on the districts ceded to the Poles were to become null and void; all privileges and former treaties which were at variance with this treaty were to be declared no longer in force. All prisoners to be released, with the exception of those captured in Lithuania after the conclusion of



peace; deserters to return to their homes or renounce all right to their property. The Grand Master was required to grant an amnesty to those of his subjects who had gone over to the Poles, but such seceders from the authority of the Order were commanded to leave the Polish territory and not allowed to return. The most important condition of this treaty appears to have been that foreign produce could not be seized by either of the contracting parties, and that those who conveyed it were held responsible for any unlawful act. The King of Poland was to select two Comthurs, and the Order two Waiwoden or governors of districts, to assemble yearly, alternately at Nessau and Thorn, for the purpose of investigating and settling all disputes. The Order undertook to pay the King of Poland the sum of 9,500 Hungarian gulden, and should the Deutschmaster decline to affix his signature to this treaty, the Order should consider themselves free from any obligations towards him until he had done so. On the election of a new king or Grand Master this treaty was to be renewed, and at the expiration of every ten years the subjects of the contracting parties were to confirm it, promising not to assist the side who first broke the peace.

During the negotiations with Poland the Order appears to have formed a kind of alliance with the Hanseatic Confederation to support its claims on England on account of the depredations of British cruisers. This may appear strange, considering

the internal weakness of the Order; but some of the ports of Prussia were at that time enriching themselves by fitting out privateers against the Dutch, who had captured several of their merchantmen returning from Spain. Another sign of the increase of the maritime power of Prussia at this period is, that the Swedes petitioned the Grand Master to assist them in recovering the rights which their King had violated. The Swedish deputies requested that Prussian ports should be closed against the pirates' vessels, and offered in return to allow Prussian vessels to carry on trade in any Swedish port free of duty. The Grand Master despatched a representative to Eric, King of Sweden, to bring about a compromise between him and his subjects. The bonds of friendship between the King and the Order were further strengthened by a visit of Eric to Dantzic and Marienburg, where he was entertained by the Grand Master. As the affairs of the King were then in a very unsatisfactory condition, Von Rusdorf allowed him to take a military force with him to Gothland in two vessels, under the command of the Comthur of Dantzic.

The hospitable reception which the Danish King had met with so pleased the Emperor that he restored to the Order all the domains which the Hussites had confiscated.

In a letter which the Grand Master received about this time from the Imperial Chancellor, Kaspar Slick, a talented diplomatist, the latter

strongly advised him to side with the Emperor against Poland, as he was fully convinced that, did he not do so, the majority of the Kurfürsts in Germany would support the Deutschmaster, and thereby have a plausible pretext for getting possession of the domains of the Order within their territory. Kaspar pointed out to the Grand Master that, being an imperial prince, he was bound to obey the commands of the Emperor, or incur the penalty of outlawry. The Chancellor's letter was conveyed to the Grand Master by the Knight Martin von Baronow.

One of Sigismund's objections to the alliance between the Order and Poland was that the Hussites had elected Prince Casimir as their king. In 1437, Sigismund, the last of the Luxemburg dynasty, died, and was succeeded by Albrecht, who, on his accession to power, finding that the Order still remained faithful to their alliance with Poland, despatched John of Brandenburg with a letter, signed by six Kurfürsts, in which it was pointed out that Von Rusdorf, as an imperial prince, could not sign a treaty without the permission of the Emperor, especially as one of the contracting parties was the special protector of heretics; threatening at the same time to confiscate the property of the Order in Germany should the knights persist in their alliance with the Poles. The Grand Master replied that the blame rested entirely with the Emperor, who had refused him aid against Poland.

This answer appears to have received the unanimous support of the members of the Order, the prelates, and the States. Fortunately for Prussia, Albrecht died in the year 1439.

But a cause of disquietude still remained. The Deutschmaster Eberhard also refused to ratify the treaty with Poland on similar grounds, namely, that he had not been consulted on the subject. In this he was supported by the Master of Liefland. One of the principal causes of this quarrel was that the Grand Master had not only pledged, but also sold, several domains of the Order in Germany, and had sent the plate of their churches to Prussia to be melted down. The Deutschmaster also charged Von Rusdorf with allowing a lax state of morality amongst the knights, and stated that great discontent existed amongst all classes through maladministration.

The Grand Master now despatched letters dismissing Eberhard von Sonsheim, who thereupon laid them before his Chapter, asking them to decide whether Von Rusdorf was or was not acting beyond his powers. The Chapter declared in favour of the Deutschmaster, who now addressed a letter to the members of the Order, stating the grounds of complaint which he had against the rule of the Grand Master. The latter did not answer the letter, upon which the Deutschmaster cited him to appear before him at Mergentheim, founding his authority on certain enactments which had been introduced into the

laws of the Chapter by Von Orseln. The Grand Master declined to attend, and in turn called upon his opponent either to meet him in Prussia or in the Neumark, where he undertook to do his utmost to clear up any misunderstanding, and that their mutual rights should be defined by delegates of the Order and the States. This the Deutschmaster refused, and Rusdorf, following the advice of his counsellors, despatched the Comthur of Graudenz and Andreas Ruperti, priest at Dantzic, to Germany, for the purpose of commanding all the officials of the Order to refuse further obedience to Von Sonsheim.

A considerable laxity of morals undoubtedly did exist amongst the brothers. Many of them had disgraced the Teutonic Order by the shameless life they had pursued in foreign countries, a state of things mainly owing to the Grand Master having been compelled, during the Polish wars, to accept any person who was ready to fight.

The position of trade and agriculture in the country was now very precarious; the education of children, too, was greatly neglected. The Grand Master began to see the necessity of the enforcement of a more rigid discipline amongst the knights, and of a strict inquiry into the antecedents of new members. He now also exerted himself in improving the condition of the farmer and peasant, and ordered several fresh schools to be established in the principal towns and districts.

The unruly disposition of the citizen class of the towns was, as before, one of the difficulties which the Grand Master had to contend with, Dantzic as usual being the leading spirit. The Prussian trade with England not being in a very satisfactory state, Von Rusdorf had despatched Henry Vorrath, the Burgomaster of Dantzic, a man greatly disliked by his fellow-citizens, to England to conclude a fresh commercial treaty. On his return with the treaty they refused to ratify it, declaring that he had been bribed by the King of England and his Parliament, and even went so far as to threaten his life.

Von Rusdorf mean time had despatched envoys to Pope Eugenius, soliciting his intervention with the Deutschmaster at the Council at Basle. The Pope had already, in a Bull to Von Sonsheim in 1437, reproved him for his pretensions, and declared that the Grand Master was accountable for his actions only to the Holy See, and that he was not to be blamed for the peace which he had concluded with Poland. Finally, the Pope, in answer to the Deutschmaster's fresh petition, ordered him at once to acknowledge the supremacy of the Grand Master and settle all disputes then pending by friendly means. Von Rusdorf's representatives at Basle were also successful in gaining over nearly all the cardinals and leading members. The Deutschmaster, however, declined to obey the Pope's orders, declaring that the Bulls were forgeries, and had

never been written with the consent of the Pope. To break up the connexion with the discontented in Liefland, the Pope ordered the Bishop of Erm-land to do his utmost to bring about a reconciliation ; should he be unsuccessful, he was to investigate the causes of the quarrel, and, if the Deutschmaster was still contumacious, he was to employ the authority of the Church against him, and, if need be, to use armed force. The bishop decided in favour of the Grand Master, and Eugenius ordered that the verdict should be acknowledged within the space of twenty-four days. If it were not obeyed, the Masters of Liefland and Germany were to pay a fine of 1,000 marks to the Papal treasury.

The agents of the Deutschmaster had some time before publicly proclaimed, in the church of Riga, that the Grand Master was deposed, and that his title was only brother Paul. The statutes (by Von Orseln, before referred to) gave the Deutschmaster the power of summoning the Grand Master in Germany. On receiving a copy of this document, the Grand Master convoked all his advisers, who declared they had never heard of the existenco of such an enactment, and despatched delegates to a Grand Chapter at Frankfort, who declared that the two Masters had always been subordinate to the Grand Master, and on this account he was so styled. As evidence thereof, they cited the statutes enacted by Hermann von Salza, which had never been revoked.

In this Chapter the Deutschmaster blamed Von Rusdorf, first, for having concluded the treaty with the Poles; secondly, for the conduct of the Order towards Swidrigail; thirdly, for the transfer of lands and Prussian subjects to Poland; fourthly, for the release of subjects from their oath of allegiance, should either of the contracting parties break the peace. The Deutschmaster, in order to strengthen his claim, obtained the sanction of the Emperor to Werner von Orseln's enactment, and thereupon summoned the Grand Master a second time to appear in the following year at Mergentheim. The Chapter in Germany remained faithful to the Master, and declared that he had acted in the spirit of the enactments of Von Orseln, but that the charges brought against the Grand Master were unfounded.

At this time another serious cause of peril to the unity of the Order was a dispute which had been pending between Von Rusdorf and the Chapter of Liefland, which, if not satisfactorily settled in support of his authority over this province, would without doubt lend a great increase of strength to his German adversaries. It would seem that Franke von Kerschdorf had been elected Master of Liefland by the Grand Master, without the consent of the resident Chapter, and that on his death his brother Walter had taken away all his portable property to Marienburg. This caused great discontent among the knights in Liefland, and they



elected Henry von Buckenrode as their new Master. At first Von Rusdorf refused to ratify their choice, but ultimately consented for fear of disunion.

In the year 1438 the recently appointed Master, Von Buckenrode, died, and, according to the ancient statutes of the Order, the names of two candidates were submitted to the Grand Master. On this occasion the Rhenish knights selected Heinrich von Nothleben and the Westphalians nominated Heidenreich Finke. The latter, being the larger party, declared, before the Grand Master had decided, that they would not acknowledge the Rhenish candidate. After a great deal of wrangling a compromise was effected, and it was agreed that the unsuccessful candidate should be made Marshal; but when it was announced that Heinrich von Nothleben was elected, the Westphalians declined to obey him, and summoned a Chapter for the purpose of coming to some determination. In the meanwhile the Rhenish party addressed letters to Von Rusdorf, requesting the assembling of the Grand Chapter. The Grand Master consented that Finke should be declared Stadtholder until the affair should be settled. The latter's adherents meanwhile despatched agents to the Deutschmaster and the Council at Basle, for the purpose of having him acknowledged there; he was also supported by a large number of knights in Prussia. At last things came to such a pass that the convents of

Brandenburg, Königsberg, and Balga, taking advantage of the Grand Master's intended journey to Prussian Holland, overtook him at Balga (where he was about to settle a dispute), and demanded the dismissal of the Grand Marshal. Von Rusdorf consented that an inquiry should be instituted; but this did not satisfy the representatives, and they at once seized the person of the Marshal, forced him to give up the seal of office, and took possession of the keys of the gates.

As the Grand Master had only the Grand Comthur with him, and as the Comthurs of Brandenburg and Balga were on the side of the representatives of the convents, he was forced to agree to their terms, as they might have made him prisoner and recalled the Deutschmaster to Prussia. As soon, however, as Von Rusdorf was out of danger, he declined to carry out his promises; thereupon the Grand Comthur went secretly to Mewe, where he assembled the Comthurs of Mewe, Swetz, Thorn, and Tauchel, and entered Marienburg accompanied by these officials, where they demanded that the Grand Master should recognize Conrad von Erlichshausen, hitherto Comthur of Thorn, as Marshal. The Grand Master consented, but he afterwards broke his word, dismissed the Grand Comthur, and nominated Bruno von Hirzberg, Vogt of Dirschau, as his successor, ordering the new Marshal and the Comthurs of Brandenburg, Balga, and Ragnit to treat with the representatives of the convents.

There can be little doubt that the Grand Master and his opponents would have been able to settle the strife within the walls of the chapter-house, had they not intrigued with the representatives of town and country to support them. The Grand Master had excited great discontent among his subjects by allowing certain merchants to send corn out of the country, as all export trade was forbidden. The towns and districts demanded that free exportation should be granted to all, and that the tolls, which weighed very heavily on trade, should be abolished. The Grand Master declined to entertain the first request, but offered to do away with the tolls, if the towns would undertake to keep the ferries and bridges in order. The towns, naturally declined to accept the offer, upon which the Grand Master increased the tolls. The towns now fully perceiving the weakness of the Order, demanded all their former privileges—that tonnage and poundage should be abolished, that the knights should not be allowed to trade, and that in future at the High Court of Justice the prelates and the representatives of the towns and districts should take part in the proceedings. The citizens also objected to many privileges which had been granted to the mechanics and to foreigners carrying on trade in the country. The Grand Master attempted to evade their demands, either by equivocal answers or by promises that, as soon as his revenue was on a better footing, he would introduce the desired

reforms. Von Rusdorf maintained that he had certain privileges which the Estates could not interfere with, which were granted to him as an imperial prince, and that the Charter of Culm was only intended for the districts which were situated between the rivers Ossa and Drewenz.

By degrees the nobles and their followers were now forming a coalition with the great towns, for the purpose of introducing reforms and gaining more power in the government of the country at the expense of the Order.

An individual now appears on the scene who was destined to take a leading part in the affairs of Prussia, and whose antecedents may be here briefly related. This was Hans von Baysen, who belonged to the family of Zailingen, which had settled in Prussia in the district of Baysen, whence he derived his name. He began his career by entering the service of Von Plauen, who had great confidence in him. After the fall of his master, Baysen repaired to the Court of Portugal. Here his extraordinary talents and manners soon gained for him a high position, and the Crown Prince Edward made him his standard-bearer. He greatly distinguished himself in the storming of the Moorish town of Ceuta, and also in the battle of Abaul, where he commanded a portion of the Portuguese army. He also afterwards successfully defended Ceuta against the united force of the Moors of Spain and Africa. While at this place he was informed that his youth-

ful bride in Prussia had been forcibly married to another; for Baysen having gone abroad without leave, the Order, as a punishment for his desertion, compelled the young girl, who had a very large dowry, to wed one of its supporters. Baysen returned to Prussia, carrying with him letters from King James of Portugal to the then Grand Master Kuchmeister, requesting him to indemnify Baysen in some suitable manner for the wrong. In a short time Kuchmeister availed himself of his services, made him privy councillor, and bestowed upon him a large domain in the vicinity of Osterode.

We now return to the difficulties of Von Rusdorf. The nobles, especially those who had been followers of Von Plauen, now took measures to gain over Baysen, who soon took the leadership of the opposition party. Marienburg became the scene of constant strife, and the Grand Master had even to fly for his life to Dantzic. Here he requested the inhabitants to support his authority over his inordinate subjects. The citizens expressed their readiness to afford him every help, reminding the Grand Master, however, of his conduct towards them, and it was finally agreed that the States should meet at Elbing. At this meeting the deputies of the towns and nobles demanded the suppression of certain obnoxious measures and the indemnification of those who had suffered by them. They protested against the despotic conduct of the Order towards civilians and those who were not connected

with it, and against the debauched and dissipated lives which the knights were then leading. The meeting was held on St. Jude's day at Marienburg. Judging it expedient not to act without the sanction of the Grand Master, the discontented party despatched deputies to him, requesting permission for their assembling. Von Rusdorf had been informed that there existed a faction who were ready to force him to abdicate and elect the Marshal, Conrad von Erlichshausen, as Grand Master, and that, should the dispute in the Order continue, the Poles would in all probability recommence hostilities; the deputies, however, promised to stand by him if he would allow the meeting to take place. The unfortunate old man, who had lost all determination of character, yielded; but on the day of assembly sent the Grand Comthur to procrastinate. The deputies, in reply, stated that the compact had been drawn up, and had already been signed. It appears that one of the obnoxious enactments above alluded to was that, if the owners of a fief died without male issue, the property reverted to the Order. The States had demanded that this and certain other laws should be abolished. Twenty representatives of Culm, ten of Osterode, the standard-bearer and the magistrate, and two influential knights from every other Prussian district confirmed by seal the convention of the towns with the nobles. The great seal of the towns and the signatures of the burgomaster and one councillor were also affixed to this important document. The

nobles of the provinces of Natangen and Samland, however, do not appear to have attached their signatures to the compact. The Grand Master finally agreed to be bound by it, as also thirty-nine governors, and the Comthurs and officials of the Order.

The Bund now found itself strong enough to carry out a number of changes. Four ecclesiastics, four knights, seven representatives of the large towns, and eleven nobles were appointed arbiters. By this arrangement the Order obtained eight votes, and the towns eighteen—a majority which enabled the Bund always to outvote it. The first person who appeared as a plaintiff was Hans von Baysen, who complained that a lake which was situated on his estates had been appropriated by the Bishop of Ermland, and that the Grand Master had not done justice to him, as he had offered to give compensation instead of compelling the bishop to restore the property. The judges decided in favour of Baysen. So many were the complaints that it was decided that only those acts of injustice should be inquired into which had been committed during the rule of the present Grand Master against individuals still living; but these were found to be so numerous that it was said that another Diet would be necessary to settle all the claims. In the midst of these debates, the representatives of the knights and their friends left the council-room, with threats and menaces against the town and country representatives.

The convents, expecting the anger of the Grand Master, now joined the towns, and Von Rusdorf, fearing that this step would be followed by similar action on the part of the Landmaster of Liefland and the Deutchmaster, called together an assembly of the representatives of the States and the former directors of the three convents, guaranteeing to the latter a safe conduct. The towns demanded the immediate abolition of poundage and all other tolls. Baysen brought forward an amendment that the subjects of the Order should be freed from the tax, and that it should be only levied on resident foreigners. At last the Grand Master was obliged to promise the abolition of the tolls, and it was agreed that, should any fresh dispute take place, four of his most able councillors should be chosen to bring about an amicable arrangement. The States now turned their attention to the quarrel of the Grand Master with the Deutschmaster and Landmaster of Liefland. They proposed that a meeting should take place at Dantzic, to which Von Rusdorf consented, and accordingly the three dignitaries met there in October, 1440. All the efforts of the States, however, to effect a reconciliation were fruitless, the Grand Master being hampered by the dread of offending the majority of the Order.

Von Rusdorf was now seized with an illness, from which he only partially recovered, and his health was so shattered by age and cares that he



resigned his post as Grand Master, with the intention of ending his days in the convent at Königsberg ; but death overtook him on January 9, 1441, at Marienburg, before he could carry out his purpose. Von Rusdorf was a man of weak and vacillating character, and was therefore only the instrument of those who from time to time surrounded him. In all his actions his want of decision and determination displayed itself. There can be little doubt that he was actuated by the best motives, but he possessed neither the courage nor the resolution necessary to guide the helm of state at this critical period.

## CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1441—1454.

Conference of the Bund—Conrad von Erlichshausen elected (1441)—Financial Difficulties of the Order—Disputes with Brandenburg—The Grand Master attempts to break up the League—Relations with Holland and Sweden—Negotiations with the Deutschmaster—Death of Conrad von Erlichshausen (1449)—Election of Ludwig von Erlichshausen (1450)—Negotiations with the Pope—Convocation of the High Court of Justice—Success of the Grand Master's Policy—The Dissolution of the League—Von Baysen's Intrigues—Action of the Members of the Bund—Mediation of the Emperor (1452)—Imperial Edict—The Bund raises Troops—Envoys of the League proceed to Vienna—Intercepted and made Prisoners—Evasive Policy of the Bund—Revolutionary Proclamation at Thorn (1454)—Envoys sent by the Bund to Casimir offering their Allegiance—The King of Poland accepts the Offer.

ON the death of Von Rusdorf, Nicolaus Postar, Comthur of Dantzic, became Stadtholder. One of the most important events of his short rule was, that Culm and Thorn, who had privately applied to the Emperor Frederick to sanction the formation of a confederation, actually obtained the imperial consent, although the Emperor, at a later period,

declared he did not know how they procured it. The publication of this document soon gained the adhesion of the discontented in Liefland, and also in West and East Prussia.

Before the election of a new Grand Master, a Landtag was held to discuss the internal and foreign affairs of Prussia.

Propositions were made unsuccessfully to the Dutch for a friendly settlement of claims for the destruction or capture of Prussian vessels by that nation, an indemnification of 7,000 Flemish pounds, and 2,000 to the merchants of Liefland, being proposed. This sum was, however, declared by the Dutch to be excessive.

During the sitting of the Landtag the new Grand Master was elected, April 12, 1441, in the person of Conrad von Erlichshausen, who had been brought forward as candidate for the dignity at the election of Von Rusdorf.

We now return to the self-constituted Landtag. The towns had despatched envoys to Copenhagen for the purpose of obtaining a recognition of their trading privileges, which had been violated, and also an indemnification for merchantmen captured by the Swedes during Eric's reign. His successor, King Christopher, agreed to recognize their former privileges, but declined to restore the ships or pay the indemnification. The firmness and discretion of Conrad von Erlichshausen, together with the moderation of Hans von Baysen, combined to bring

about a better understanding between the Grand Master and the Bund, and the former was thus enabled to postpone from time to time the meeting of the Supreme Court of Justice. The new Grand Master's first efforts were to gain over the support of the towns. During his progress through Prussia to receive the allegiance of his subjects, the towns demanded the recognition of their privileges, to which he agreed on condition of their first taking the oath of allegiance to him. After the deputies had sworn fealty at the Landtag, the Grand Master solemnly engaged to protect the constitution, and all complaints were postponed for the decision of the next Landtag.

Conrad also increased his popularity by introducing reforms in the laws of inheritance of the feudal knights and their retainers. About this period the peasants and minor nobles of the Bishop of Ermland declined to pay any longer certain taxes to their superiors. The priests requested the assistance of the bishop, and asked him to bring the matter before the Pope, who decided in their favour. The archdeacon now appealed to the Grand Master to enforce the decision by sending a representative to the peasants. This the Grand Master did not do, but called the attention of the Landtag to the disorders in the bishopric; but the deputies, not wishing to give the Order a chance of exercising armed authority, postponed any inquiry until the next meeting. By the advice of Conrad, the bishop

seized the ringleaders and had them confined in gaols. This determined attitude on his part brought about a peaceful solution of the question, and prevented an extension of the movement amongst the peasantry of other sees.

The financial condition of the treasury was now at such a low ebb that the Grand Master could not keep the fortresses in a proper state of repair or maintain his Court. He therefore declared to the Landtag his intention of reintroducing poundage, which the Emperor Frederick II. had sanctioned ; but, for the purpose of preventing the opposition of all the towns, he proposed to have it levied at Dantzic, Elbing, and Königsberg only, Culm and Thorn being excepted. In this he was unsuccessful. He now issued a manifesto to his subjects, stating his intention to lay the whole matter before the Emperor, and he accordingly despatched an envoy to the Imperial Court. This had the desired effect. The tax was renewed, and levied in the same way as under the previous Grand Master. One-third of it was to go to the towns for the purpose of covering the expenses of the embassies which they frequently despatched to foreign countries.

About this time the right of proprietorship of the Neumark was claimed by Brandenburg. In 1415 Frederick VI., Burgrave of Nuremberg, had purchased the Mark Brandenburg from Sigismund, and attempted to substantiate his right to the Neumark, which he maintained to be included in the

purchase. Rusdorf applied to the Emperor, who forwarded him a copy of the deed of purchase to prove that the Burgrave's claim was unfounded. In 1425 the Emperor, in a letter to the Grand Master, solemnly declared that the Neumark did not belong to the Mark Brandenburg, and their separation was in no way at variance with the Golden Bull; and in 1429 this letter was again confirmed by the Emperor, and also the right of re-purchase of the Neumark was renounced. Frederick I. of Brandenburg appears then to have been satisfied with this decision, but in 1442 Frederick II., now Kurfürst of Brandenburg, renewed his claims on the Neumark. The Order, fearing that they might become entangled in an imperial lawsuit, had the question argued before the Council of Basle, where the celebrated Bachenstein, Benheim, and other jurists decided in their favour. The Kurfürst, fearing that he would be opposed by the Emperor and Pope, should he attempt to obtain possession of the Neumark by armed force, agreed to a compromise, and a meeting took place at Frankfort in June, 1443. After a long discussion negotiations were broken off, but in October following the Kurfürst, having heard that the Order were making preparations for war, agreed to a second meeting at Frankfort, where he personally appeared to meet the representatives of the Grand Master and the towns. The Kurfürst and his brothers John, Albert, and Frederick renounced for ever all claims on the

Deutschmaster and the Master of Liefland. The small towns made their acquiescence dependent on the decision of the larger ones, but these last would not hear of the Grand Master's proposition. He now tried to effect his object in the following manner. He insisted upon all his subordinates being most cautious in the exercise of their authority, so as to prevent the possibility of the Bund being appealed to, expecting in course of time that the majority of the people, finding they could obtain immediate redress for their wrongs, would see the inutility of that body. Through constant inspection of the different establishments of the Order, the moral tone of the knights became greatly improved. The increase of the revenue which had taken place after the introduction of the pound tax enabled the Grand Master to place the fortresses in a proper state of defence, as we are told that every first-class castle was fully provisioned for two years, and the smaller ones for one year. To be certain that this was the case, the commandant had to send to him a detailed report of provisions in store, of the strength of the garrison, and the condition of the defences after having carefully inspected them, when officers were despatched to visit the strongholds to see if their reports were correct. The Grand Master was equally successful in his foreign relations. He compelled the Dutch to carry out the terms of the treaty which they had concluded with his predecessor. His ambassadors

demanded from the Danes and Swedes that they should put an end to the constant outfitting of piratical cruisers in Gothland. This they did, and the new King of Denmark invaded Gothland and destroyed its capital, Wisby, which had hitherto been the depôt of the Russian and Lithuanian produce. The Hanseatic Confederation at this time made Dantzic the chief seat of trade. The exiled King Eric, who had been driven from his dominions and had taken refuge in Gothland, now sought the protection of the Grand Master, and offered to sell the island to the Order. This Von Erlichshausen declined, as he feared that it would entangle him in a war with Sweden.

The Grand Master, who lost no opportunity to increase his treasury, seized all the money which had been collected in Prussia and Liefland for the incorporation of the Greek and Russian Church with the Latin. This money had been ordered by the Council of Basle to be handed to Conrad von Winsberg, Hereditary Chamberlain of the Empire, and treasurer of the contributions sent to Basle. The Grand Master's plea was, that the Order itself was one of the principal instruments for the developing of the Roman Catholic Church, and therefore he had a just right to make use of this money. After a long contention, the treasurer repaired to Prussia, with the intention of distraining the subjects of the Order for the amount of money seized. Erlichshausen, so as to be beforehand with his opponent,



managed to obtain from Pope Nicholas V. a Bull by which the Order was allowed to retain two-thirds, the other third to be handed to the Papal treasury, to assist the Hungarians against the Turks. The Pope also nullified all the measures which had been, or might be, taken by Von Winsberg against the Order.

There had always existed secret tribunals or inquisitions in different parts of Europe, and these courts now increased so rapidly in Prussia that, at the request of the States, the Grand Master successfully appealed to the Pope for power to break them, and thus Prussia was freed from one of the greatest curses of human invention.

As the dispute between the Deutschmaster and the Grand Master had not yet been satisfactorily settled, Erlichshausen opened negotiations for abolishing the statutes of Von Orseln, and also certain innovations in the choice of the Deutschmaster. The election of a new Deutschmaster, in 1447, brought this about. According to the ancient usage of the Order, the Chapter had to elect two candidates, whose names were submitted to the Grand Master, and the one he selected was acknowledged Deutschmaster. This had not been done in the election of Eglosstein and Sonsheim, and in the year 1447, on the death of the latter, the Chapter chose Eberhard von Stettin. The Grand Master ordered his representative not to acknowledge him until the Chapter had undertaken to return two

candidates in the next election, and that the new Master should make a personal inspection of all the ecclesiastical and military establishments under his rule, and forward to the Grand Master a thorough report of their condition. The new Master, Eberhard, survived his accession to power a year only, and the Chapter thereupon elected Jost von Feningen, contrary to the ancient usage, as his successor. At first the Grand Master refused to confirm this choice; but the Chapter having stated that the reason of their not having selected two candidates was the fear of the repetition of a similar disunion to that which had taken place in Liefland, this explanation was accepted by Erlichshausen, whose health was then in a very precarious condition.

Up to the year 1449 the Grand Master had been able to maintain his authority over the knights; but the moment they became aware of his ill health, a large number of them, who could not view with indifference the probable increase of the power of the towns, met at Mewe, where they unanimously vowed a hearty support to the future Grand Master in destroying the power of the Bund, even should it be to the disadvantage of the Order. When the brotherhood consulted, according to custom, their dying chief, as to the most proper person to succeed him, he named Wilhelm von Eppingen, with the remark that he knew his advice would be useless, as the Chapter would either elect Henry von Plauen,

or his own nephew, Ludwig von Erlichshausen. Before his death, which occurred November 7, 1449, the Grand Master expressed his fears that the unruly portion of the knights would bring great trouble, not only upon the Order, but also on their subjects.

The superior talents and penetration of this dignity were conspicuous. When he took over the reins of government, the Order was demoralized and disunited, the people on the eve of rebellion, and surrounded with foes ready to assist in the division of Prussia. All these difficulties he successfully surmounted, and, had his successor been like him, civil strife and disunion would not have again become rampant in the Order and in the country. He was the last Grand Master interred at Marienburg.

On the 1st of December, 1449, the Grand Comthur, Henry von Richtenberg, was elected Stadtholder, who summoned to Marienburg the Masters of Liefland and Germany, and the chief Comthurs in foreign countries, to proceed to the election of a new Grand Master. Their choice fell upon Ludwig von Erlichshausen, early in the year 1450.

We are told that the new Grand Master's uncle, Henry von Plauen, had a strong party who wished to secure his election, but Von Plauen generously withdrew his candidature. It had been arranged that the Grand Master should receive the oath of

allegiance of the entire brotherhood, and that he should make no changes in the Order without the consent of his privy council. The first subject discussed was the necessity of destroying the authority of the Bund. The Deutschmaster declared that, if Ludwig would at once take action against the confederation, he would obtain for the Order the assistance of the Emperor and the Pope. The Bund, having heard of the hostile intentions of the Grand Master, attempted to justify their conduct on the occasion of taking the oath of allegiance. Ludwig declined, however, to discuss the subject then, promising to give it due consideration at the meeting of the Landtag. Thereupon the Estates took the usual oaths of allegiance, and the Grand Master in his turn swore to protect their rights and privileges.

To obtain the support of the Pope, Von Erlichshausen had recourse to the Bishop of Ermland's arguments against the principles of the Bund. The Order's proctor at Rome portrayed in lively colours to the Pontiff the dangers which would arise, should the spiritual power be ruled in all its ramifications by laymen actuated by republican principles, and the procurator also stated that, without his support, the Order was totally unable to protect its authority or the rights of the Church. The Pope despatched to Prussia Bishop Louis von Silves as his legate, who, he believed, would be a fitting instrument to reduce the lay power to a proper state

behalf of himself and knights, claimed the right of demanding reparation for any injustice done to the brotherhood.

If we take into consideration the manifold privileges and reforms which had been granted, coupled with the proposals of the Grand Master, the people of Prussia could not at that time have denied that the continuance of the Bund must either bring about a dead lock in the direction of affairs or a civil war, simply because the existence of an independent power of greater authority than the executive itself was incompatible with the maintenance of friendly relations amongst all classes. The real fact was, that the members of the Bund wished to be the ruling party in the State, and they felt that, in whatever way justice might be administered, yet the knights and the nobles and prelates would always look down upon the citizen class as their inferiors. Hans von Baysen now appears to have promised his active support to the Grand Master, though in his letters to him he declared that all the representatives of the Bund were as much opposed as ever to the dissolution. This was, however, false, for there existed considerable opposition amongst the smaller towns, who found that the cities were absorbing all their trade. There can be little doubt, indeed, from letters of Von Baysen, that he had already commenced negotiations for foreign assistance in case of the Order attempting to dissolve the Bund by force. During this period Ludwig von Erlichs-

hausen had not neglected to further the commercial relations of Prussia with foreign powers.

In 1450 he despatched ambassadors to England to demand an indemnification for the capture of Prussian ships by English pirates. He also sent envoys to Utrecht, in 1451, on account of similar acts of violence. For the purpose of preventing any person who had been nonsuited appealing to the imperial court of justice, the Grand Master despatched a special embassy to Frederick, requesting him to issue an order forbidding such appeals, which the Emperor did. This was a great victory for the Grand Master, for the discontented could not now expect any sympathy from the Imperial Court. That the Bund were determined at all hazards to maintain their coalition is proved from a letter which a certain Gabriel von Baysen, probably a relation of Hans von Baysen, wrote in the year 1450 to the Bohemian Czirwenka, asking whether he could assist the Bund with 800 horsemen.

In the year 1452 the Grand Master made another effort to come to terms with his opponents. He proposed that any question at issue between them should be referred for decision to the Emperor or Sovereign Pontiff, or to some Kurfürst, and, if the Bund did not desire to refer the matter to strangers, he was quite ready to abide by the judgment of the Prussian and Livonian prelates. The Grand Master did not object to the idea that the Order and the

Bund should each select two nobles, who should endeavour to mediate, and, in the event of their being unsuccessful, mutually agree to accept the decision of a common arbitrator. This the Bund declined, but agreed to accept the mediation of the Emperor, whose ministers they believed might be bought over. On the 21st of October the Bund despatched Augustus von Scheybe, Remsel von Ludwigsdorf, Tidemann von Wege, and Andreas Brunaw, Burgomaster of Königsberg, to the Imperial Court, the Grand Master also sending representatives. The Emperor, after hearing the case of the delegates of the Bund, appointed the 25th of June, 1453, as the day on which the dispute should be decided, the envoy of the Order in vain attempting to persuade him to at once dissolve the Bund.

During these transactions Prussia was the scene of great agitation. A civil war seemed imminent. To be prepared for eventualities, the Grand Master sent emissaries to the Courts of all German princes, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Margrave of Brandenburg. He also had the garrisons reinforced, and instructed the knights to hold themselves in immediate readiness to quell any rising, and the Bund appears to have acted in a similar manner. The Grand Master, foreseeing that bloodshed must ensue, attempted, with the assistance of the Bishop of Riesenburg, to appease the disquietude which existed among all classes. Pending the

settlement of the dispute, the Emperor, by the advice of his ministers, guaranteed to the members of the Bund all its privileges, and despatched a letter to the Bishop of Camin to protect the Prussians against the courts of inquisition.

This step was taken from the belief that the Order and the prelates would use these courts as instruments of revenge against those under the ban.

The Emperor also forbade any act of hostility towards the Bund, or any change in the laws of the country. The Bund were also empowered to assemble for the purpose of selecting those who were to represent their interests at the court of inquiry. Finally, the Emperor called upon the Grand Master to appear personally, the ulterior object of the Emperor's ministers being, of course, the ascendancy of that monarch in Prussia. His having played a double part is proved by the widely different statements which he made to the representatives of the league and the Grand Master. Even before the inquiry took place, the party of the Bund made no secret of having obtained the promise of a decision in their favour by the Emperor, who had received 54,000 gulden for the recognition of their privileges. The Bund, fully believing that they should require armed force to limit the authority of the Order, commenced collecting money to defray the expenses of the inquiry. By these means they were able in a very short time to amass a large sum, with the intention of ultimately using it as a reserve



fund for any warlike contingency, whilst the Grand Master, unable to raise any contribution or impose fresh taxes, was compelled to depend solely on the present resources of the Order. To prevent their proceedings being known, the Bund appointed twenty members, to whom the entire direction of their affairs was intrusted, and these members were bound by oath not to divulge their names or the nature of the business transacted. It is highly probable that the members were elected by ballot; but all this secrecy did not save the Bund from the machinations of spies, whose object it was to sow the seeds of disunion among the different towns. In this these agents were partially successful, for this peculiar kind of inquisition did not find much favour with the extreme republican party, who therefore on their part selected a committee to investigate the transactions of the secret council.

In accordance with the desire of the Emperor the council now despatched envoys to Vienna.

Two of the representatives, Remsel von Ludwigsdorf and Tidemann von Wege, reached their destination; the other four, John von Thur, Gabriel von Baysen, John Maskou, and Wilhelm Jordan, were attacked by armed men, and only Von Baysen managed to escape. It is presumed that the capture was instigated by the Bishop of Ermland, who wished to find out their secret instructions. Casimir III., who was now King of Poland, had offered his mediation, which was declined by the Order, as

it was supposed he was in negotiation with the leaders of the Bund.

The seizure of the representatives produced considerable sensation, and Gabriel von Baysen accused the Order of having connived at it. The delay caused by the arrest enabled the partisans of peace at the Court of the Emperor to make a vigorous attempt to effect a friendly settlement, but in vain.

The Bund now appealed to George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, who procured the release of the captives.

At this period a rumour prevailed in Prussia that the Bund intended to assemble a large number of armed partisans, and, in fact, to organize an army. Hans von Baysen had himself proceeded to Breslau, where he had several interviews with the emissaries of Casimir. The Grand Master, being informed of the projected armed meeting, prepared to prevent it by force. The Bund, not being in a position to offer resistance, gave up the project, and declared that the report was put in circulation by their opponents. Both sides now postponed any act of hostility for the present until the decision of the Emperor. The principal representatives of the Order were Von Plauen, the Bishop of Ermland, Francis Ruhschmalz, George Blumenau, a celebrated doctor of law, and several princes and knights in Germany joined the embassy. The Bund had selected Master Martin Meier and the Order appointed Peter Knott as their respective advocates.

The Order demanded the total dissolution of the

Bund, and, as a punishment of the confederates, the forfeiture of all rights and privileges, and an indemnity of 600,000 gulden. The Bund petitioned for a postponement of six months, so as to be enabled to produce fresh evidence as to the necessity of its existence, and the representatives declared that all they desired was the impartial judgment of the Emperor, who named the 28th of November, 1453, as the day on which he would pronounce his decision. The representatives of the Bund soon ascertained, through their agents, that the Grand Master was now using the same unprincipled means as they themselves had employed before to obtain that decision in their favour. Whether this be true or not, it is highly probable that many of the princes and prelates who took part in the proceeding feared that, should the Bund be successful, their own subjects might follow its example, and naturally favoured the cause of the Order. With a view to being masters of the position, the representatives of the Bund declared that, if the verdict was delivered in their absence, they would not accept it. From this it is evident that some of the confidential ministers of the Emperor were in their pay, and had promised to give them timely notice as to whether he intended to decide in their favour or not, although on a former occasion they had actually declared that the Grand Master or his representatives should acknowledge the conclusion arrived at, whether they were present or not.

The Bund, in order to gain time by further negotiations, now declared that the Emperor was not a legitimate and unbiassed arbitrator in all the charges brought against them by the knights, and that all he could decide upon was whether the Estates ever had the right to form a league. The Emperor thereupon confined his opinion to this point, and stated that the Bund had been illegally formed, and as there had never existed sufficient grounds for such a confederation, he, on that account, declared its existence null and void.

The imperial decision, if closely inquired into, proves that either the Emperor was behaving falsely, or that his ministers had acted without his instructions. We know that the Bund had received a charter, guaranteeing to them all their privileges—an instrument of which the Emperor, on being asked whether it had received his sanction, denied all knowledge, but which he yet allowed to continue in force. The existence of these privileges manifestly increased the power of the subject to the prejudice of the authority of the Order. On one side the Bund was discontented with the Emperor for having ordered its dissolution, and the knights on their part were equally dissatisfied with the decision. The Bund, believing that they could always depend on the underhand support of the Emperor, drew up a manifesto in which they solemnly renounced their allegiance to the Grand Master. Von Baysen appears to have been the principal

leader in exciting the Bund to the above step, and the renunciation was formally signed by all the members at Thorn on February 6, 1454. The Bund, knowing the importance of securing some important strongholds before publishing the act of repudiation of allegiance, determined to seize the citadel of Thorn at all hazards, and employed the following stratagem. A number of young citizens were disguised in women's attire, and managed to get into the interior of the fortress, where they suddenly attacked the unarmed garrison, the greater part of whom were put to the sword, the Marshal of the Order being one of the victims. This treacherous act took place on the day on which Von Baysen and his colleagues signed the proclamation, and was the signal of civil war. In less than four weeks the Bund had seized upwards of fifty castles, and Marienburg, Konitz, and Stuhm alone remained in the hands of the Order.

The city of Dantzic now came to terms with the Comthur of the town, who, in consideration of a large sum of money and a free passage for the garrison with their effects, delivered over the citadel to the burghers, who then destroyed it. Königsberg was also surrendered in a similar manner, and several other castles, including Elbing, fell after a short resistance. The Grand Master lost all courage, and even condescended to send envoys to Thorn, offering to acknowledge the league and also to convoke the Supreme Court of

Justice, where all their grievances would be redressed, provided they would cease hostilities. He also despatched knights to various princes soliciting their assistance against the Bund. Unfortunately for the Order, Reus von Plauen, the only man who was able to advise the Grand Master, was absent on a mission in Germany.

In order to give an appearance of legality to their conduct, the Bund obtained from the Emperor, by indirect means, a confirmation of the privileges of Culm and Thorn. In a very short time it became evident to the members of the league that, if they wished to be thoroughly successful, they must at once decide on some kind of government, and the peculiar constitution of the great towns, and the individual independence which each enjoyed, had fostered the desire for a federal republic. The nobles who belonged to the Bund determined to avail themselves of this feeling, and, for the purpose of securing the reins of government in their own hands, they induced the most important towns to hand over to them their strongholds. But the citizens soon saw that in a very short time they would be in a far worse condition than formerly. They therefore commenced destroying the castles, so as to be independent of the nobles. There also existed a monarchical party, who believed that, should a republic be established, the rulers of the neighbouring countries would make common cause against them, and divide Prussia amongst them-

selves. The towns of Königsberg, Braunsberg, and Elbing, on account of their trade with Denmark, proposed the king of that country as their future sovereign. Dantzic and other towns were in favour of Casimir, King of Poland, also from commercial considerations. Another party supported Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

The majority of the league, being in favour of a union with Poland, despatched Von Baysen to Cracow to offer their allegiance to Casimir, who had espoused Elizabeth, the daughter of the Emperor, whose assistance they also expected to obtain. At first Casimir treated the deputation with marked favour; but the Grand Master, having heard of these proceedings, despatched a mission to the Polish Court, where, by bribing the ministers, the latter were induced to advise the King to side with the Order. The deputies of the Bund, in order to recover lost ground, gave out that they were about to proceed to the King of Hungary to offer him their allegiance. Casimir, who did not wish to have such a powerful neighbour on his frontier, opened fresh negotiations with the envoys of the Bund, who, having amassed a large sum of money through the confiscation of the property of the Order, obtained permission from Casimir to raise a force of 3,000 trained soldiers for the service of the confederation. The Emperor, who, although not unwilling that the imperial power should be

superior to that of the Order, was naturally opposed to the aggrandizement of Poland, did his best to dissuade Casimir from siding with the Bund. The Polish ministers and nobles saw in the acquisition of Prussia an increase of patronage and power, and there can be but little doubt that the ample resources which the league had placed at the disposal of Von Baysen, greatly contributed to the non-success of the envoy of the Grand Master.

Towards the end of February (1454), the King of Poland formally declared war against the Teutonic Order, on the ground of the introduction of the poundage, of the refusal of the Deutschmaster to ratify the treaty of "perpetual peace," of the imposition of new customs duties, at variance with the treaties with Poland, and finally of their having, by their hostility towards the Bund, attempted to violate the principles of the treaty. Before accepting the allegiance of the deputies of the Bund, Casimir ordered a committee to examine into the charges which that body made against the Order, and this farce was gone through to give the appearance of legality to the transaction.

In March the King issued a proclamation to the Prussians, in which he accepted their allegiance and guaranteed to them all their former privileges, allowing them to settle their own affairs, and no public appointment was to be held by any other person than a native of Prussia. In the election of a King of Poland, the prelates and Estates were



to exercise similar rights to those enjoyed by the Poles. Poundage and the other obnoxious taxes were to be for ever repealed. In times of peace the towns of Thorn and Dantzic were allowed the right of coining money bearing the royal effigy, but in case of war this privilege was extended to Elbing and Königsberg. Finally, the King of Poland reserved to himself the right of appointing a Stadtholder in Prussia, with the sanction of the Estates.

The Bund, in a written address to the King from Thorn, acknowledged their allegiance. In this document they again brought forward the old charge of the intention of the Grand Master to get himself absolved from his oath to maintain the "perpetual peace" although he had, in the Council at Basle, formally denied the accusation.

## CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1454—1467.

Hans von Baysen appointed Gubernator (1454)—The Members of the Bund take Oath of Allegiance to Casimir—Casimir demands War Contributions from Dantzic and other Towns—Von Erlichshausen solicits Aid from German Princes—The Poles and Dantzigers besiege Marienburg—Siege of Konitz—The Poles raise the Siege of Marienburg—Casimir again invades Prussia—Königsberg withdraws from the Bund and joins the Order—The Margrave of Brandenburg offers to Mediate—Siege of Lessen—The Neumark pledged to the Margrave of Brandenburg (1456)—The Knights evacuate Marienburg—The Grand Master retires to Königsberg (1457)—Marienburg seized by Von Zinnenberg—Arrival of Polish Reinforcements — Armistice — Death of Hans von Baysen (1461) — Stibor von Baysen made Gubernator — Struggle within Marienburg — Negotiations with the Dutch — Naval Engagements between the Danes and the Dantzigers—The Grand Master treats with the Bund and the King of Poland—Peace of Thorn (1466)—Prussia becomes a Fief of Poland—Total Losses on both Sides during the War—Conference at Elbing—New Coinage—Death of Von Erlichshausen (1467).

THE first person who experienced the generosity of the King of Poland was Hans von Baysen, now the leading man in Prussia. Casimir raised him

to the rank of Gubernator of Prussia, and bestowed the command of the principal towns upon those members of the league who had supported him.

In return for the honour conferred upon him, the sturdy Prussian "patriot" undertook to force the bishops to take the oath of allegiance, there being great doubts as to whether the prelates were ready to commit an act of double perjury towards the Pope and the Order. But, to the astonishment of all, several of the bishops were perfectly willing to acknowledge the new state of affairs. The Bishop of Ermland, however, amongst others, declined to do so, and retired to Breslau, where he spent the rest of his days.

The disloyal conduct of these dignitaries can only be accounted for on the presumption that they believed that by siding with Poland their temporal power would be increased, as it was then notorious that the priestly party in that country were venal in every sense of the word, and that the King used them as his instruments.

The King of Poland made his solemn entry into Elbing in May, 1454, where the Bund and all the newly appointed officials took the oath of allegiance, Dantzic undertaking to contribute annually 2,000 Hungarian gulden to the royal treasury. Up to the present time the league had been able to defray its own expenses from the money it had raised, but now, it becoming apparent that it could hope for nothing from the Polish exchequer, whole-

sale confiscation of everything belonging to the knights became the order of the day. Even this was found insufficient, and the Stadtholder despatched messengers to all the maritime powers requesting the surrender of any vessel and cargo belonging to the Order. He also called upon foreign sovereigns to deliver over to his agents all domains and valuables taken from the churches, even including the sacramental plate.

The King of Poland, who had no intention of spending Polish money in Prussia, also called upon the principal towns, such as Dantzic, &c., to supply him with the necessary funds for the immediate pay of the mercenaries. The Dantzigers, now foreseeing that unless they compelled the rest of the league to pay their quota of the war expenses, the whole burden would fall on their shoulders, demanded that all the towns should contribute equally towards raising the necessary sums of money.

After much altercation, an arrangement was made by which the towns and country raised a war contribution of 46,600 marks. In return for this, the King of Poland renounced certain feudal claims which he had a right to exact from the towns, and also induced the nobility to follow his example.

The Grand Master had taken refuge within the walls of Marienburg, from whence he despatched messengers to the friends of the Order in Germany and other countries, requesting their assistance.

The Poles, in order to prevent the reinforcements arriving, determined at once to besiege the city, and on the 27th of February, 1454, a considerable force of Dantzigers and Polish mercenaries, with the necessary artillery, commenced its investment. To prevent the town from being cut off from all communication, the knights made constant sorties, and at last broke the lines of the besiegers, capturing the guns and trains, with 300 prisoners. The Dantzigers, nothing daunted, having received reinforcements, resumed the siege, but were again unsuccessful, their mercenaries, struck with the heroic bravery of the knights, deserting in large numbers.

Already the German reinforcements had entered Prussia, and were advancing to the relief of Konitz, which was defended by the Comthur of Schlochau, and besieged by the Polish King in person, with an army of 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry. These reinforcements consisted of 15,000 men, under the command of Rudolf von Sagan, Count von Henneberg, and Henry von Lautenstein. The advanced guard succeeded in joining the besieged on the 18th of September, 1454. The main body, availing themselves of the woody country, pushed on close to the Polish entrenchments, which they stormed, the garrison assisting simultaneously. The result of this combined attack was the total discomfiture of the Poles, who fled in all directions, hotly pursued by the Germans until nightfall. The

tent of the King, together with all his treasures, which mostly consisted of booty taken from the Order, fell into the hands of the victors.

The Poles left 3,000 dead on the field of battle, and most of their principal officers as prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The King escaped with difficulty, and reached Thorn with only a few followers. Some idea may be given of the amount of provisions left behind by the fact that there was found sufficient to replenish the stores of the German army. The loss of the victors was comparatively trifling, but included Duke Rudolf von Sagan, who was severely wounded in the battle.

Casimir, before advancing on Konitz, had sent orders that the siege of Marienburg should be prosecuted with the utmost vigour. The Poles before this city, being reinforced by those who had assisted in the capture of Stuhm, commenced operations; but an epidemic broke out, causing great havoc, particularly amongst the Prussians, who were told by their priests that it was a divine punishment for their rebellious conduct towards the Order, a statement which was the more readily believed when they were informed that their former masters had, with a handful of men, miraculously defeated the entire Polish army. Disputes arose between the Poles and their allies, and, fearing that they would share the fate of their comrades at Konitz, the former deserted the works during the

night, leaving all their artillery, ammunition, and provisions behind. Some of them sought refuge in Culm, others in Prussian Holland. This event was followed by the unconditional submission of Stuhm, Saalfeld, Liebmühl, and Osterode.

Marienburg was the residence which the Grand Master allotted to the Polish prisoners, 300 in number. On their arrival they were at once thrown into the dungeons of the stronghold, where they were treated in the most harsh and cruel manner, and the bodies of those who died in prison were not permitted to receive Christian burial, but were thrown into the river.

The Bishop of Samland now forsook the Polish cause, and came to Marienburg, where, after having handed over to the Grand Master a considerable amount of money and treasure, together with all the silver and plate of his churches, he was pardoned. Notwithstanding that the Order had many friends in Germany, they were unable, from want of funds, to raise the necessary number of mercenaries which were now required to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

The Grand Master being, therefore, compelled to remain on the defensive, the large towns who still continued faithful to the Bund determined to take advantage of his embarrassment, and accordingly despatched an embassy to the King of Poland, who was then at Nessau, requesting him to return to Prussia with a sufficient force to at once crush the power of

the knights. The envoys were instructed to undertake that the Polish army should be paid and provisioned by the league. This was just what Casimir desired, as his share of the bargain would in future consist in merely the raising of the necessary number of soldiers.

As a reward to the Dantzigers for their loyalty to him, he empowered them to destroy New Dantzic, a flourishing commercial town, whose rapidly increasing prosperity had excited the jealousy of the old town. Casimir, therefore, re-entered Prussia, at the head of 60,000 men, in November, 1454, and captured Bishopswerder and Riesenbourg. He then proceeded to besiege Lessen, which was defended only by a few knights and 800 mercenaries; but, after a ten weeks' investment, the inclemency of the weather, and the obstinate resistance of the garrison, compelled the King to raise the siege. Von Erlichshausen, finding it impossible to collect sufficient money to pay his mercenaries, concluded the following arrangement with them:—In the event of their not receiving their back pay within a certain period, all the Order's castles and prisoners were to be handed over as security, and they were at liberty to do what they pleased with them. Von Erlichshausen also empowered his representatives in Franconia and Nuremberg to sell or pledge all the towns, castles, and treasures belonging to the Order. The Order appealed for aid to the King of Denmark, who expressed his willing-



ness to join them against the Poles, but Christian's terms were so exorbitant that the Grand Master could not accede to them.

Christian, however, as a proof of his sympathy, threatened Poland with a declaration of war, should it persist in protecting the league. Casimir, being in want of money, had returned home, leaving a contingent of 6,000 men behind him, a device to secure the purchase of his return by the Bund. The mercenaries of the Grand Master, having possession of the castles, now prosecuted the war with fresh vigour, wherever they appeared plunder and devastation accompanying their steps.

The Bund on the other hand, not being able to pay its hired troops, was obliged to allow them to live on the inhabitants of those districts and towns which they had to defend. This measure excited great indignation, and the league was at last not only compelled to reintroduce tonnage and poundage, with other objectionable imposts, but also to raise a war contribution. The moderate party, who resided mostly in the vicinity of Königsberg, in consequence threatened secession, and the inhabitants of that town expelled the burgomaster and declared in favour of the Order. Reus von Plauen, upon hearing of this, hastened with a small force to their assistance. The new town was destroyed, and the rest of the suburbs fell into his hands. The Grand Master, as a reward for the fidelity of the Königsbergers, granted fresh privileges to them,

and did the same to other towns which had shown similar loyalty. We have before seen that the Bund had done its utmost to obtain possession of the shipping belonging to the Order. In retaliation the knights fitted out privateers, in which it is highly probable that they were assisted by the Dutch, for we find the league strictly forbade the entrance of Dutch vessels into their ports. During this period the paid troops of the Order were unabating in their raids, and in a very short time the principal towns in their vicinity acknowledged the authority of the Order, in the fear that they might be given in pledge to the mercenaries. The latter now commenced negotiations with the league and Poland for the sale of the pledged property, but were compelled to break them off by the menaces of the German princes, whose displeasure they did not care to incur.

On September 10, 1455, Casimir, at the head of 150,000 men, had crossed the Vistula and called upon the Dantzigers to join him with all their available forces. The Margrave of Brandenburg now proceeded to the royal head-quarters at Neuenburg, and made the following proposition: the King was to give up all the country he held in Prussia, receiving an indemnity, the sum to be fixed by the Emperor or Pope, who should also lay down the terms of the treaty. These overtures the King of Poland declined, as he had shortly before solemnly declared, in the presence of the Estates,

that he would never forsake the league. Casimir now broke off all negotiations and commenced the siege of Lessen, the walls of which he tried to undermine, and covered his approaches with war-machines and earthworks; but the want of discipline amongst the Poles soon turned the whole country round into a wilderness, for, instead of storing up provisions, they wantonly destroyed all that they did not require for immediate use. Disease soon appeared, and the greater part of their horses perished of a virulent distemper. This, coupled with the constant and increasing loss of men in the prosecution of the siege, both by death and desertion, left no alternative to Casimir but to withdraw. The King, as usual, called upon the Dantzigers to procure sufficient funds to reorganize his forces, but this they declined to do until he had granted them fresh privileges. Casimir accordingly handed over to the citizens the Comthurship of the town and the fishery monopoly of Putzig, December, 1455, receiving in return the necessary funds for the pay of the mercenaries. Some idea may be formed of the expense to which the Dantzigers had already been put when we find that, without reckoning their share of the expenses, they had raised the sum of 254,700 gulden to carry on the war. The only success which the Bund obtained during the year was the capture of the suburbs of Eylau, where a considerable amount of treasure was taken; as a set off to this a large troop of Polish marauders,

who, after committing great excesses, were then besieging Rhein, were surprised and dispersed by Reus von Plauen.

The commencement of the operations of the year 1456 was not favourable to the knights. The Commandant of Königsberg, who had to maintain the soldiers belonging to Duke Rudolf of Sagan in the towns of Ragnit and Memel, finding that his military chest was empty, was about to satisfy these mercenaries by allowing them to plunder the surrounding country, when George von Schlieben, at the head of a force, suddenly seized the castle of Allenstein, where all the treasure belonging to the fugitive Bishop of Ermland had been placed, together with the plate, books, and valuables of the cathedral of Frauenburg. This enabled him to settle all arrears of pay due to himself and his followers. This act of lawlessness was in direct violation of the agreement which the Grand Master had made with the bishop, and he therefore summoned the leader of the mercenaries to release the canons, whom he had detained as prisoners. George von Schlieben declined to do so, stating that he could prove that the canons had not only assisted the King of Poland with a large sum of money, but that there also existed a secret understanding to deliver Allenstein into his hands. A series of fresh disasters now befell the Order. During the siege of Rhein by the league a sanguinary engagement took place, in which the knights lost a thousand

men. Again, after having succeeded in capturing Rheden, the garrison of the castle, being reinforced, drove them out of the town, inflicting severe loss. The Dantzigers also, in order to destroy the trade of Königsberg and prevent the town receiving assistance from Denmark and Holland, sank ships near Balga in the passage which connects the Frische Haff with the Baltic.

The mercenaries of the league were at this time in about the same mutinous condition as those of the knights. At one time a large number of them joined the soldiers of the Order at Mewe; and, had not the Dantzigers despatched 6,000 men to Lauenburg and Putzig, these places would have been captured. Von Erlichshausen, finding that his officers who superintended the domains of the Order in foreign countries would not obey his injunctions to sell or pledge the property intrusted to their care, requested Pope Calixtus to order them to raise the necessary funds to coerce the league. But as it was doubtful whether the officials would obey the Pope, the Grand Master determined to pledge the Neumark to the Margrave of Brandenburg, who had undertaken its protection. This wily prince had already obtained a considerable amount of money, together with several valuable districts adjoining his territory, from the Order, in return for his mediation with the King of Poland. The Margrave, who had a considerable sum of money in hand, was but too willing to get a firmer hold of the Neumark,

and accordingly he advanced to the needy brotherhood the sum of 100,000 gulden, holding the Neumark as a pledge, and also granted to those knights who resided in that province certain districts for their support during their lives. All these sacrifices, however, were not sufficient to satisfy the rapacity of the German and Bohemian mercenaries, who accordingly recommenced their treacherous negotiations with the King of Poland, the Bohemians being the most violent in their demands for an immediate settlement of back pay. At their head was Czirwenka, who, believing that his followers were sufficiently numerous to hold Marienburg, declared his intention of at once proceeding to Thorn to settle for the transfer of the castles, towns, and districts which were then in his possession. The unfortunate Grand Master, Von Erlichshausen, being unable to pay the exorbitant sum demanded by the Bohemians, Czirwenka, with some of the most determined leaders, started for Thorn, notwithstanding that some of the German officers, such as Von Sagan, Von Blankenstein, and other commanders, opposed this violation of military discipline. From Thorn a deputation, headed by John von Eichholz, proceeded to the King of Poland to arrange the price for the delivering over of the Prussian territory and strongholds by the mercenaries. About the beginning of June Czirwenka returned to Marienburg, whose garrison he had strongly reinforced, so that the Grand Master

was completely under his control. Casimir offered to pay the sum demanded in two instalments, each payment to be simultaneous with the handing over one-half of the castles held by the mercenaries, Marienburg being included amongst the first.

But a still greater danger arose to the Order in the shape of the demand of Von Sagan, that Samland and the adjoining territory should be unconditionally given to him, on the specious pretext that this would enable him to keep his mercenaries in order, and to supply them with pay and provisions. Fortunately the Grand Master, although the total destruction of his Order was staring him in the face, had the courage to give an indignant refusal to this audacious proposition.

The old King of Denmark, in conjunction with other princes, now offered to land a considerable force for the capture of Dantzic, but this offer was, for some unaccountable reason, declined. He, however, fitted out cruisers to prey upon the trading vessels belonging to the league, especially those of Dantzic, and so successful were these privateers, that no ship carrying the confederate flag dared appear on the open sea.

Had the Grand Master entered into a regular alliance with the Danes, Dantzic would have been captured, and the backbone of the revolt broken. The Margrave of Brandenburg also proposed proceeding to Konitz, to prevent, if possible, the handing over of Prussian territory to the King of

Poland, as the mercenaries had declared that they preferred ceding it to the Order, if they could get their demands satisfied. The knights, however, now obtained assistance from an unexpected quarter, namely, from the priests, who still remained faithful to them, and who had, since the publication of the Pope's interdict, laboured night and day amongst the populace in pointing out the deplorable results of their disobedience to the Pope and the Order.

The bishops began to waver as they foresaw that, if the priests were successful, their subjects would probably revolt and expel them from their sees. The knights also received indirect assistance from another source, that is to say, the poorer classes of mechanics, who resided in the larger towns, and who, from the stagnation of trade, the increasing burden of taxation, and the unbridled exactions of the mercenaries, had, from being the steadfast supporters of the league, become its most determined opponents. The result of all this was, that Hans von Baysen was no longer regarded with the unbounded respect which had formerly been entertained towards him, and suddenly, to the astonishment of the league, some of its principal supporters, amongst whom were Gabriel von Baysen and Thielemann von Wege, on the plea of ill health, declared that they were unable actively to continue their assistance.

By degrees the fatal mistake they had made in



appealing to the aid of the foreigner became apparent to the Prussians, and in a very short time violent tumults broke out in the principal towns. In Thorn the people ejected the leaders of the league, and loudly declared they would no longer acknowledge the King of Poland, and were ready to open their gates to the Grand Master the moment he appeared at the head of an army. The league, however, succeeded in regaining their influence, and a series of executions and banishments followed. In Culm similar scenes took place; but the people, overawed by the Polish garrison, desisted in their attempt to expel the officials of the league. The mercenaries of the league, not having received their pay, levied black-mail on vessels on the Vistula belonging to their employers, and also threatened to seize Dantzic, the citizens in vain despatching envoys to the King of Poland requesting protection, according to his solemn engagement. At last a large portion of the Dantzigers formed the determination of offering their allegiance to the Margrave of Brandenburg on the first convenient opportunity. Their leader Roggen was so far successful as to have the principal officials of the municipality changed; but his opponents, having discovered his ulterior object, seized and executed him, and expelled twenty of his companions.

These signs of the dissolution of the league were taken advantage of by the Grand Master and his councillors, and it was resolved to come to terms

with Dantzic and the mutinous mercenaries. Accordingly a proclamation was issued to the Dantzigers, offering them very favourable terms if they returned to their allegiance. This they refused. As regards the mercenaries, the German party offered to prevent the purchase of the knights' territory by the Poles. To carry this out, they insisted on being allowed to take part in the negotiations with Casimir, and artfully induced the Bohemians to fix such an exorbitant price for the territory of the Order that it would be impossible for the King of Poland and the league to comply with their demands.

The Bohemians, however, discovering the real motives of the Germans, resumed negotiations with Casimir, and eventually consented to deliver over to the King of Poland all the territory and castles they held for the sum of 436,000 gulden, to be paid in three instalments in the current year—three-quarters in gold and silver coin, and the remaining quarter in goods. The King of Poland, on his part, undertook to grant an amnesty to all those residing in the ceded territory, and guaranteed to them their former privileges.

The league, with a view of assisting the King to pay this large sum, ordered a contribution of 82,300 gulden to be raised. The nobles, on their part, advanced 10,000, and despatched an ambassador urging the King at once to return to Prussia with a large force, and take possession of Marienburg.

In the mean time the Grand Master had received the reassuring intelligence from Germany that the Archbishop of Mayence, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg were ready to assist him with a large body of troops, and he was also requested to send representatives to the Reichstag at Nuremberg.

On the loss of Marienburg, which was now delivered up to the league, the Grand Master and his court retired to Dirschau, and from thence to Königsberg. In these transactions the Bohemians appear to have outwitted the Germans, the former receiving all the money. Czirwenka, there can be but little doubt, had, long before the negotiations had commenced, been gained over by the Poles. The King of Poland made his triumphal entry into Marienburg on Whit-Tuesday, 1457, and on the following Thursday received the oath of allegiance from all the officials. He granted the Dantzigers fresh privileges, and made over to them the territory of Dirschau. Elbing was also similarly treated, but was bound, as soon as public peace was restored, to pay an annual sum of 400 Hungarian gulden to the King. Czirwenka was made commandant of Marienburg, and the castles of Swetz and Golub were given over to his protection. Hans von Baysen and his new sovereign, not content with having broken the power of the Order by a most treacherous act, now commenced circulating through the country the most calumnious

reports concerning the Grand Master. Amongst the papers which, it was stated, had been found in the archives, was a regular plan, drawn up by Von Erlichshausen, as to the manner in which the inhabitants of the towns and country were to be treated after the dissolution of the league. According to this forged document, the towns were to be deprived of all their privileges, and the entire population reduced to serfdom.

But this slanderous accusation did not have the desired effect, for, as we have before seen, prior to the treachery of the Bohemians, a large portion of the Prussians were in favour either of the Margrave of Brandenburg or the rule of the Grand Master. The first sign of dissatisfaction was the refusal of the inhabitants of Mewe, after the departure of the mercenaries, to receive a Polish garrison within its walls. The Poles thereupon laid siege to the place, but, a mutiny having broken out in their camp, they were compelled to cease operations, and most of the Bohemians commenced returning to their own country. The castle of Stuhm still held out, defended by Bernard von Zinnenberg, with several of the principal German captains and 600 veterans.

The Poles were equally unsuccessful in their attack on Dirschau, and in revenge plundered the cloister of Pelplin. By degrees the greater part of Prussia was overrun by marauding parties consisting of Poles and mercenaries, who perpetrated every species of cruelty and barbarism.

The Dantzigers, who had now equipped several armed vessels, set sail from the port in search of a Danish fleet, consisting of sixteen vessels, which was on its way to Liefland, laden with provisions and volunteers for the Order. In an engagement the Danes were defeated, losing upwards of 300 men.

One of the most steady and determined supporters of the Order was the Burgomaster of Marienburg, Bartholomaeus Blume, whom Czirwenka allowed to remain in office on account of the authority which he exercised over his countrymen. It soon became apparent to Blume that it was the ultimate intention of the Bohemian commandant to appropriate Marienburg and its districts, from the number of his countrymen who were constantly arriving there, and that the King of Poland was fully aware of Czirwenka's project. The brave burgomaster accordingly betook himself secretly to Stuhm, to seek the aid of its commandant, Bernard von Zinnenberg, in expelling the Bohemians from Marienburg. Reus von Plauen, who had taken refuge in Stuhm, joyfully assisted the burgomaster in persuading Bernard and the German mercenaries to undertake this bold enterprise. It was agreed that the commandant should appear before the gates of Marienburg during the night of the 27th of September, which he did at the head of 1,200 followers. Blume, who had successfully arranged everything, opened the gates, and the force immediately endeavoured to take the castle by storm. The first attempt being unsuccessful,

Zinnenberg attacked and overcame the garrison in the town, taking a great number of prisoners, among whom was the Polish commander. Encouraged by success, Zinnenberg renewed his assault on the castle, but was again repulsed. Hereupon he resolved, for the time being, to retire with his force to Stuhm, from thence advancing in the direction of Neuteich in order to effect its capture, and in that event to renew his assault on the castle of Marienburg, the citizens of which town, under the command of Reus von Plauen, still successfully defied the efforts of the garrison to reduce them to submission. Although the latter had been strongly reinforced by the Dantzigers, Zinnenberg, who had been severely wounded in an engagement, but was now sufficiently recovered, entered into negotiations with the Burgo-master of Culm, who agreed to open the gates if he came there with sufficient force to protect the citizens from the Polish garrison. Bernard Zinnenberg accepted the offer, and by a rapid march got possession of the place, where he was joined by reinforcements from the Neumark, together with several German captains. He now caused himself to be proclaimed Governor of Culm, and issued a most threatening proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, calling upon them at once to take the oath of allegiance to him. At this period the Dutch and the Hanseatic Confederation, who were jealous of Dantzic, were doing their utmost to support the knights by supplying them with provisions and

money. The Dantzigers, fearing that the fleets of Holland, Denmark, and the Hansa might make a combined attack on their town, sent an urgent message to Casimir, soliciting a sufficient force to defend Dantzic and other important places. In a short time 6,000 Poles arrived in Prussia, 3,000 of whom reinforced the garrison of Marienburg. The inhabitants of the town were now reduced to most desperate straits. The enemy had surrounded the place entirely, and thus prevented them from obtaining provisions from the country, and the garrison of the citadel kept up a murderous fire day and night. In vain they despatched letters to their friends, to beseech them to send provisions or soldiers, as starvation stared them in the face. The Grand Master did his utmost to induce the inhabitants of the Low Country to send assistance, but the soldiers who still remained faithful despaired of the possibility of being able to join Blume and his companions. Already the most daring spirits of the town had formed the plan of cutting their way through the enemy.

Perhaps never had the fortunes of the Order been at such a low ebb as at the end of the year 1457; but, fortunately the Poles, who had a large force around Marienburg, were also in a sad plight, for, as usual, disease had broken out amongst them, and they had lost most of their horses from the inclemency of the weather. At last, raising the siege, they retired from the scene of their discomfiture, numbers of the

soldiers forsaking their colours to plunder the country. Neuenburg now surrendered to the Order, but Wehlau defied their attacks. Meanwhile, up to the present time, little or no assistance had been given to the Order by the Emperor or German princes, a circumstance mainly owing to the constant postponement of the Diet. Casimir, feeling convinced that, whenever the Diet did assemble, the Emperor and the majority of the princes would make common cause against him, determined to come to some arrangement with Von Erlichshausen, and accordingly despatched two Masovian nobles to treat for a cessation of hostilities. Reus von Plauen and the principal advisers of the Grand Master persuaded him to come to terms with the King of Poland, who was then at Thorn, and the result was that an armistice of twenty months was agreed to. During this period each of the belligerents was to elect eight representatives, under the presidency of Duke Albrecht of Austria, for the purpose of arriving at a definite settlement of the questions at issue. To appease the discontent which the appointment of Czirwenka as Governor of Marienburg had created amongst the Prussian nobles, a Hungarian, John Isgra, was appointed governor, with the understanding that he was to surrender it on the final conclusion of peace. This nobleman had been despatched to the King of Poland to induce him to take part in an expedition against Matthias Corvinus, son of the celebrated Hunyada. (See Appendix A.)



The Grand Master and his councillors availed themselves of this truce to regain the goodwill of the Prussians, and requested the Bishop of Samland to carry out the conditions of the Pope's interdict less rigorously. It was but too natural that this truce should be regarded with the greatest jealousy by the league, who, knowing the impecuniosity of the King of Poland, feared he might be induced to hand over the whole of Prussia to the Order, should the Grand Master be able to raise the prescribed sum. In this surmise they were partly correct, for some of the Polish councillors proposed that, if the Grand Master would hold Prussia as a fief of Poland, he should be formally installed, paying down to the King 100,000 gulden as indemnity and an annual tribute of 20,000 gulden. So great was the King's need of money that he borrowed a large sum from a certain noble, Stibor von Ponitz, to whom he gave Marienburg as pledge, and, repayment not being made at the appointed time, Stibor threatened to sell the town to the knights. This proceeding was, however, frustrated by the Polish garrison in the citadel. Week after week passed without the representatives, who had taken up their quarters at Culm and Nessau, coming to any agreement, and on the expiration of the truce both parties prepared for a renewal of the struggle, though neither of them was sufficiently strong to conduct it with any degree of energy. The Dantzigers, in an attack on Dirschau, lost thirty vessels on the

Vistula. The Order captured Löbau, but experienced checks at Mohrunen and Passenheim.

In November, 1459, Hans von Baysen, the Gubernator, broken down by old age and infirmity, breathed his last.

From what we can learn of this ambitious man, it would appear that he actually intended, when a convenient opportunity arose, to have made himself dictator in Prussia. His intrigues with the Imperial and Papal Courts prove that, prior to his death, he was attempting to form a coalition against Casimir, in which, had he been successful, he would have become master of the position in Prussia. His brother, Stibor von Baysen, who succeeded him, now concluded a truce for two months, which was, however, violated by the Order, who seized a convoy of sixty Polish waggons, intended to revictual their garrisons. Unfortunately for the knights, about this time the King of Denmark concluded a truce with the Dantzigers at Lubeck for four years, so that the latter could now prevent communication with the Order by sea.

Simultaneously with the outbreak of hostilities, the bloody strife recommenced between the garrison of the citadel of Marienburg and the inhabitants of the town. A portion of the garrison at Mewe, assisted by a numerous force under the Grand Master, attempted to throw in reinforcements; but the expedition was driven back, owing to the superior flotilla of the Dantzigers who now be-

sieged the town, and the Grand Master was forced to retreat. The citizens of Marienburg, under the heroic burgomaster, still continued to resist the attacks of the garrison and those of the besiegers, and would, in all probability, have triumphed in the end, had it not been discovered that the enemy were undermining the walls and houses of the town, an operation which, if successful, would enable them to make a general onslaught from all sides, cutting off from the defenders all chance of escape. The Poles and the league, infuriated at the obstinate resistance offered, had declared that, if the place would not surrender, it would be given up to pillage and no quarter given. To save the demolition of the town and the massacre of the inhabitants, the citizens commenced negotiations with the Stadtholder and the commandant of the castle, John von Koszelecz. The result of these negotiations was that the inhabitants agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the Polish King, who promised to restore their former privileges. An exception was made, however, with reference to those who had taken a prominent part in opening the gates to the Order. As soon as Marienburg was in the possession of the league and the Poles, the military commandant of the town had the burgomaster and those who had not been parties to the treaty seized and thrown into prison.

On the 8th of August, 1460, this sturdy and brave representative of the ancient burgomasters was led

like a felon through the streets of Marienburg, and, amidst the execrations of the soldiers of the league and the Poles, he manfully ascended the scaffold to meet his fate. Not contented with his decapitation, his bloodthirsty adversaries wreaked their vengeance by quartering his body, and all his property and effects were confiscated. Fourteen officers and three knights, with their retainers, were thrown into dungeons, where they met with a miserable end.

Thus ended the career of one of the most patriotic supporters of the Order. By his influence over his fellow-townsmen, he had, with a few soldiers, successfully resisted the united efforts of the Poles, the Dantzigers, and the garrison. Blume, like Reus von Plauen, had never lost courage in all the struggles he took part in, and up to the last was regarded by the league as the leading spirit in the councils of the Order. His influence was felt in every city, and his terrible death rekindled a feeling of loyalty in the breasts of many who had hitherto preserved a neutral attitude.

The loss of Marienburg was, to a certain extent, counterbalanced by the capture of Wehlau. The mercenaries appear now to have displayed more spirit, for we find them having constant skirmishes with the garrison of Dantzic and their troops who were quartered in the neighbourhood. In these encounters they were successful, and destroyed many flourishing villages. They attacked and captured Lauenburg and the castle of Bülow, Putzig also

falling into the hands of the knights. Dantzic now stood a very fair chance of having its supplies cut off from the land side. To prevent this, the King of Poland despatched a force to occupy an entrenched camp at Oliva, which effectually resisted the repeated attempts of the troops of the Order to drive them from it. The German mercenaries now, after leaving a sufficient force to watch the Poles, marched to the assistance of the Grand Master and captured Wormdit, which was plundered and destroyed. The Poles attacked Marienwerder, which they attempted to burn, but were strenuously resisted by the garrison, who had retired to the cathedral, and the enemy was ultimately expelled. Sonnenberg, who had for some time been in treaty with the inhabitants of Swetz, got possession of the inner castle, but, the Poles being suddenly reinforced, he had to renounce his attempt to capture the castle and remaining fortifications.

Treachery was freely resorted to by both parties in obtaining possession of the different towns and castles, and the Grand Master was able to keep up a spirit of opposition in Dantzic. The peasantry, who continued loyal to the Order, assisted by the mercenaries, rendered the communication between Thorn and Dantzic excessively difficult. Mewe was the basis of operations of these small bands, who did more damage to the league than the forces under the immediate command of the Order. In fact, the leading merchants were afraid to leave the

towns, for fear of being captured and obliged to pay a heavy ransom for their release. The Danes, notwithstanding the truce, seized any of the vessels of the league they met cruising in their waters, and the Dutch privateers were doing a very profitable trade by capturing all vessels conveying goods or provisions to those parts of Prussia held by the league and the Poles. In retaliation the Dantzigers equipped all their trading vessels as privateers, whose duty it was to capture any ships they met, irrespective of nationality. Reval and Riga, which carried on a considerable trade on the Baltic, not possessing a sufficient number of armed vessels, concluded an arrangement with the league, by which, on condition of the latter not interfering with their commerce, they undertook not to convey, or supply the Order with, any provisions or munitions of war. At a meeting of the Estates at Elbing, the King of Poland was again requested to send reinforcements to Prussia, and he shortly after laid siege to Konitz at the head of a large army; but its obstinate resistance and the utter want of provisions in the neighbourhood, which the Poles had wantonly destroyed in their progress, compelled the King to raise the siege. Friedland, in West Prussia, surrendered after eight days' resistance to the Poles. The Order's troops, under the command of Heinrich Reus von Plauen, Sonnenberg, and Frederick von Kunneck, captured Mohrunen, Schippenbeil, Friedland, in East Prussia, and Rastenburg, either by

connivance of the inhabitants or force of arms. Runeck, who commanded at Lauenburg and Putzig, was also carrying on active hostilities with the Dantzigers, skirmishes frequently occurring under the very walls of the town, in one of which Schedlitz and a part of Neugarten were burnt. The success of Runeck induced the leaders of the Order's party in Dantzic to commence treating with him for the surrender of the town, but their plan was discovered the night before its execution, and many of the conspirators were beheaded.

The Emlanders, who had suffered in the war from the exorbitant exaction of the Polish and Bohemian mercenaries, determined, if possible, to get possession of their strongholds and to declare themselves neutral. Their former bishop had died in retirement at Breslau. The league and the King of Poland had bestowed the bishopric on Paul von Legendorf, but they gave him no power over the province. In fact he was obliged, before taking up his residence at his capital, to pay to the mercenaries 8,000 gulden, and the Chapter had to do the same to recover Allenstein. The peasants and citizens of Gutstadt and Braunsberg now expelled the Polish mercenaries from those places, and, emboldened by this success, managed to effect an entrance into the town of Frauenburg; but here they were surrounded by a strong body of Poles, who inflicted on them a loss of 600 men, 100 of that number, who had taken refuge in the church, being burnt alive. Neither the league

nor the King of Poland attempted to put down these atrocities, but the sad condition of the country emboldened the Bishop of Ermland, at the meeting at Elbing, to openly declare his desire that his subjects should take no further part in these intestine struggles; and Casimir, not wishing to drive the Ermlanders to the side of the Order, preferred to allow the matter to remain in abeyance. The town of Strasburg was at this time stormed by Runeck, who found there a large quantity of war material, which enabled him to commence the siege of the castle. The King of Poland despatched a considerable force to the relief, under Peter Dunin, who was however unsuccessful, although greatly superior to his opponents in numbers. The garrison, seeing no chance of obtaining reinforcements or supplies, capitulated, and were allowed to retire unmolested. We have before seen that hostilities were constantly taking place in the Baltic between the privateers of the league and those of other countries. Some Dutch vessels, in the act of conveying provisions from Riga to the Order, were captured. The Dutch demanded redress, but the principal citizens of Bruges undertook to arrange matters with the league and the merchants of Amsterdam. To effect this, a proposal was made for the renewal of negotiations of peace between the Order and the King of Poland after Easter, but the Grand Master stated his inability to do anything in the matter until he had asked the advice of a



general Chapter. Pope Pius II. also offered his mediation, and authorized George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, to bring about a peace between Poland and the knights; but the Order refused, as the Pope, in a letter to his legate, the Archbishop of Crete, spoke of Prussia as being a fief of the Roman Pontiff, and on that account he was to do his utmost to protect the Papal interests. The precarious truce which had been concluded between Denmark and Poland was again renewed, as it was the only means by which a regular alliance between the former and the Order could be prevented. Since the siege of Konitz the Poles had avoided any decisive engagement, and the Order on their side exercised a similar caution. This led to a guerrilla warfare all over the country, and no one who possessed property in the open plain was secure from the violence and rapacity of the mercenaries of either side. Most of the castles in Pomerellen were in the possession of the knights, and it was known that the bishop and his subjects constantly gave active assistance to the garrisons.

The league and the Poles, determined to put an end to this state of things, advanced into Pomerellen for the purpose of capturing the strongholds. The knights, who had collected all the forces they could obtain from the garrisons, determined to risk a general engagement, being numerically superior to their opponents, whom they at first surrounded and forced to retreat behind their waggons. Here, after

a fierce hand-to-hand encounter, the Order were totally defeated, losing some of their bravest followers, amongst them Roneck or Rubeneck. The Dantzigers, in recognition of the bravery of their great opponent, sought out his remains, and had them interred in the cloister of Czarnowitz. The death of this determined party leader was a most serious loss to the Order, as by his tactics the lines of communication between Poland and the towns occupied by the league were never safe, and the Poles could now continue the war without fear of having their communications cut off. The first effect of this disaster was the capture of Bülow and Golub by the Poles, whilst the Bishop of Ermeland, in attempting to surprise Wormdit, was defeated with the loss of his whole cavalry.

The year 1463 opened with a continuation of hostilities. Both sides pursued their old tactics of petty engagements, with little or no result. The King of Poland was indeed constantly sending armies to Prussia; but his soldiers had always to be paid and provisioned by the citizens, and, when they were defeated or had converted themselves into bands of marauders, it was the citizens who had to bear the brunt of the battle until fresh reinforcements had arrived from Poland. In such a condition of affairs the Papal legate, Hieronymus, did not meet with much opposition in his endeavours to bring about a peace. He first attempted to effect a meeting between the Grand Master and

the King of Poland. In this he failed; but it was agreed that a general meeting of delegates from the Order and the league should take place in the month of May, at Brzesz. Unfortunately the legate declared he could have no communication with the representatives of the league, on account of their being under the interdict of the Pope, from which they must be first released before negotiations could be entered into.

The league thereupon, declaring that they did not acknowledge the interdict as legal, on account of its having been surreptitiously obtained from the Pope, as a signal of defiance forced the clergy to perform a *Te Deum* in all the churches.

The Order informed the nuncio that they could not commence to treat with the King of Poland until he restored to them all the domains which he had either purchased or forcibly taken from their mercenaries. The legate, finding nothing could then be done, went to Breslau, for the purpose of having an interview with Casimir, during his sojourn in his northern provinces.

From a Papal letter, addressed on May 6 to the Grand Master, we learn that Gabriel von Baysen, one of the most determined opponents of the Pope, was the principal cause of the representatives of the league not coming to an understanding with the legate, who stated that he had offered to temporarily suspend the interdict during the negotiations. But Von Baysen advised his colleagues not to accept

a concession of this nature, for by so doing they would acknowledge the legality of the Bull. The Bishop of Ermland, who had at this time become a strenuous supporter of the Order, did his utmost to assist the legate. Although the King of Denmark had renewed the truce with Casimir, yet he did not scruple to allow his cruisers to capture Dantzic merchantmen in Danish waters, and render the passage of the Sound very hazardous. The Dantzigers retaliated by seizing Danish ships,\* and now decided formally to declare war against Denmark, in the hope that the adherents of the fugitive Charles would revolt.

On this reaching the Danish King, he resolved to come to terms with the Dantzigers, so as to avoid a civil war. Negotiations were thereupon recommenced. The internal condition of Dantzic had not been at all satisfactory ever since the former attempt to surrender the town to the Order. The lower classes of mechanics, fearing that, if a war took place between Denmark and Dantzic, their ruin would be complete, determined, under the guidance of Gregory Koch, to open the gates to the Order. The knights despatched a large number of their retainers in disguise to Dantzic to assist the malcontents, and the rising was fully arranged.

\* The origin of the hostility of the Danish King arose from the Dantzigers having allowed Charles, his rival for the crown of Sweden, to take refuge in their town, and it is highly probable that they had assisted him with men and money.

One of the conspirators, however, having betrayed the entire plot to the burgomaster just before its execution, the ringleaders, with many of their companions, were immediately arrested and beheaded, whilst all the retainers of the Order who were apprehended were either executed, drowned, or fettered to the sides of the ships.

The traffic on the Vistula had become excessively difficult, on account of the constant attacks made on the vessels by small bands of armed men who patrolled the banks of the river, and whose basis of operations was Mewe. To obtain command of the navigation of the stream, the Dantzigers collected all their available forces and laid siege to Mewe, the garrison of which offered a most stubborn resistance. The Grand Master, knowing the extreme importance of Mewe, ordered a flotilla to advance from Königsberg to that town to assist the garrison, while he himself despatched a considerable force by land. The Königsberg flotilla, however, being totally defeated by the vessels of Dantzic and Elbing, the army of the Order was forced to retreat.

At the commencement of the year 1464 the garrison of Mewe, after suffering extreme privations, was starved into a capitulation, and was allowed to retire with the honours of war; the privileges of the citizens were also re-confirmed, only to be violated by the Polish commandant Poskarski, who levied exorbitant contributions, and

conducted himself in the most violent manner. At last he went so far as to order the secret assassination of several of the richest citizens. On this coming to the knowledge of the league, they demanded his punishment. The King of Poland, however, deemed it sufficient merely to supersede him. Several members of the Hanseatic Confederation, whose trade had been greatly interrupted by the intestine struggles in Prussia, now offered their support to the Papal legate if he would again come forward, but neither party could form any resolution as to the terms of the treaty; whilst the Bishop of Ermland, fearing that the King of Poland would ultimately prevail, determined to secure his bishopric by coming to terms.

After the surrender of Mewe, the Dantzigers and Elbingers commenced operations against their opponents at sea, and in an encounter captured eleven Danish vessels near Memel. This led to the siege of Putzig, which, after six months' resistance, capitulated, the garrison being allowed to retire unmolested. Neuenburg was then besieged. Its defenders at one time, by a successful sally, nearly drove the Poles from the position they occupied before the town. But the Poles, though at one time so disheartened by the obstinacy of the defence that they were about to raise the siege, having received reinforcements from Dantzic, and knowing the wretched condition of their opponents, continued operations with unabated vigour. The

besieged, finding that there was no prospect of relief, capitulated, and were allowed to march out with the honours of war, but the knights and their allies had to leave all their property behind them.

The treasury of the Order was now utterly exhausted, and the mercenaries refused to undertake any active operations or leave the towns where they were living on the inhabitants. The Grand Master applied for help to the Master of Liefland, who replied that he had not sufficient force to garrison Memel, which was in daily expectation of being attacked by the Dantzigers.

As it became evident that most of the towns which still remained faithful to the Order intended to acknowledge allegiance to the King of Poland, the Grand Master despatched messengers to the Gubernator, Stibor von Baysen, to treat for peace. Accordingly the representatives of the confederation and the Order met at the villages Kobbelgrube and Stathof, on the Frische Nehring. The Gubernator, who represented the King of Poland, declared in his opening speech that it was useless for the Order to expect to regain the allegiance of any of its former subjects.

The conference as usual dissolved without any result, although it was evident that there existed a strong party in the confederation opposed to the continuance of hostilities. After the break up of the meeting, the guerrilla war was renewed on both sides.

In the month of August a fresh meeting took place at the before-mentioned villages. The confederation demanded that the Order should acknowledge Casimir as feudal lord of Prussia, and should accept at his hands a certain amount of territory for the knights to reside in, and that the Grand Master in future should not allow any foreigner to enter the Order. The knights, on their part, demanded that the King of Poland should restore all the territory he had seized.

As neither party was willing to make concessions, the assembly again broke up. A third conference, in which the Bishop of Ermland acted as mediator, was attended with the same result.

On the 21st of September the confederates and the Poles laid siege to the important stronghold of Stargard.

In the beginning of December the knights attempted its relief, and a large number of them managed to force their way into the town, raising the garrison to upwards of 1,000 men. The remaining forces of the Order now employed themselves in cutting off the supplies from Dirschau for the Polish army.

On the 16th of December the entire garrison attempted to carry by sortie the Polish entrenchments. At nightfall, however, the knights were forced to retreat, after having lost several pieces of artillery and a large number of soldiers.

A revolt now broke out in Königsberg and Sam-



land against the Order, which had to be put down with a great sacrifice of life.

It was at this time discovered that the Poles were again in negotiation with the mercenaries for the delivering over to them of several towns belonging to the Order.

In every portion of the knights' territory great discontent was manifested, and there were good grounds for believing that a regular rising would take place, should they encounter any fresh disaster. Von Erlichshausen therefore determined to treat for peace through the medium of Bernard von Zinnenberg, who was greatly respected by Casimir.

The miserable inhabitants of Prussia had hardly recovered from the inundations and plague of the preceding years when a violent epidemic swept all over the country, lasting until the beginning of the next year. Many places had ceased to exist, and large portions of Prussia had returned to their original uncultivated condition.

A convoy of forty vessels, conveying nearly 1,000 men from Liefland, was shipwrecked, and the crews and soldiers either met their death by starvation or were slaughtered by the Samogitians.

In March the confederates demanded of the King of Poland that he should without delay return to Prussia, with such a force as would render all resistance on the part of the knights impossible; and it was pointed out to him that, if he did not do this at once, the entire country would be utterly ruined.

The garrison of Stargard, which had bravely held out until this time, managed to effect their escape, favoured by the darkness of the night, and were able to reach Konitz.

This town was now surrounded by the forces of Casimir, who had arrived in Prussia. After an heroic resistance, the commandant of the garrison, Caspar von Nostitz, and Count von Gleichen capitulated. The garrison were allowed to retire with their artillery, ammunition, and provisions, but had to leave Prussia within fourteen days after surrender.

The Russian and Polish mercenaries, after the fall of Konitz, commenced plundering those few districts where the inhabitants had sufficient to maintain themselves.

Town after town surrendered to the Poles, and the Grand Master and his councillors welcomed with joy the news that the Papal legate, Bishop Rudolf von Lavant, had been empowered by Pope Paul II. to strain every nerve to preserve unhappy Prussia from the bloodshed and misery which had already lasted thirteen years.

A peace conference was appointed to take place at Nessau between the King of Poland and the representatives of the Grand Master. As the knights would not accede to Casimir's demands, the King broke off the conference, but the legate on his knees entreated him to renew negotiations. The King acceded to this, and accordingly the

Grand Master proceeded to Thorn, where he met King Casimir, who treated him with the greatest distinction,

We are told that such was the miserable state of the Order's exchequer, that the Grand Master appeared without his gorgeous official robes, being unable to provide himself with new ones. On the 19th of October, 1466, was concluded the celebrated treaty of Thorn.

The following were the principal conditions:—

1. A perpetual peace should be observed by both parties and their adherents; the past to be forgotten.

2. The King of Poland should retain for ever the province of Culm, with all its towns and castles, together with the districts of Michelau and Pommellen. The Order should retain the sovereignty over a part of the Frische Nehring and a part of the Frische Haff, on condition of their not erecting any fresh castle or fortification or increasing the taxation.

3. Marienburg, town and castle, Lake Drausen, the district of Scharffau, town and castle of Stuhm, Elbing, Tolkemit, Christburg, and other minor towns were also ceded to Poland. The knights were allowed to retain under their rule the rest of Prussia, Samland, Prussian Holland, with all the towns and castles; the King of Poland renouncing on behalf of himself and successors all claims to the territory ruled over by the Teutonic Order.

King Casimir made the Grand Master a Polish prince and privy councillor. He also agreed to confer the distinction of royal councillors on those knights who were recommended to him by the Grand Master. The King further stipulated that each successive Grand Master should, within six months after his election, appear before the sovereign of Poland, and take the oath of allegiance to him. He was then to take his seat on the left hand of the King of Poland as his principal adviser.

The Grand Master was to acknowledge no one but the King of Poland as his superior, except the Pope. One of the most extraordinary arrangements of this treaty was that the oaths held good, even should the Emperor or the Pope offer to absolve the contracting parties from their engagement.

The Grand Master having on bended knees offered his allegiance to the King, they both knelt down before the legate, and swore on the cross to carry out the conditions of the treaty, a ceremony which was repeated by all the great ecclesiastics and officials of both countries.

In order to assist the Grand Master in his financial difficulties, the King advanced a considerable sum of money, and stated that he would not require military services from the Order for some years to come, unless to prevent an invasion of the Tartars or Turks.

Von Erlichshausen now returned to Königsberg to mourn over the losses which he had contributed

to bring about by his want of determination of character. Out of 21,000 villages there now remained only 3,000. Upwards of 1,000 churches had been plundered and partly destroyed. The Poles lost 70,000 men in mercenaries alone.

At the commencement of the war the knights had placed in the field a well-equipped army of 70,000 men. This magnificent force was now reduced to 1,700.

No account is given of the number of the reinforcements from Liefland and Germany, and other parts of Europe. The Dantzic army had counted 15,000, and was now reduced to 161. It is estimated that the confederates and knights lost upwards of 300,000 men. The cost to the knights was 5,700,000 gulden, to the King of Poland 9,600,000; Elbing, Dantzic, and Thorn had contributed 500,000.

If we contemplate the unsatisfactory condition of the citizens and middle classes in Germany, and compare them with those liberties which were enjoyed by the towns and country in Prussia, we are at a loss to comprehend why the league ever asked the assistance of the King of Poland. We must arrive at the presumption that the unruly spirit which was constantly manifesting itself in Germany had infected the citizens of towns like Dantzic, whose wealth and prosperity fostered the idea that they had a right to claim the entire direction of their own affairs, and who, finding they were too weak to accomplish this object, did

not hesitate to call in the King of Poland to assist them in overcoming the authority of the knights.

Poland was in those days a comparatively poor nation, abounding with a multitude of ambitious and unprincipled nobles and priests, who regarded the possession of Prussia as a treasury from which they could draw supplies to support their dissolute careers.

Casimir had concluded the peace simply because he was not in a condition to continue the war, and was fully prepared on the first convenient opportunity to reabsorb that territory which he had handed over to the knights.

In order to settle many points which had not been arranged at the treaty of Thorn, a conference was held at Elbing on February 15, 1467.

The Gubernator opened the meeting by drawing the attention of its members to the unsatisfactory condition of the coinage. The poverty of the Order's treasury had compelled the Grand Master to constantly debase the coin, and so great was the alloy that it was rejected in the foreign markets.

It was agreed that the old money should be gradually called in and fresh coinage issued, bearing on one side the effigy of the King and on the other the arms of the Order; that the money coined at the towns of Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing should be accepted in all parts of Prussia, and that no change should take place in the currency without the consent of both parties.

In order to improve the condition of the small towns and villages, it was decided that all arrears of taxes should be remitted, and no further contributions should be levied for the next five years. All lands and houses which had lapsed to the State through the death of their proprietors were to be distributed to immigrants, who were not to pay any taxes for four years.

The remaining questions were settled in an amicable manner. Von Erlichshausen, who had for seventeen long weary years attempted, to the best of his power, to restore the fortunes of the Order, had already showed signs of his approaching end.

The satisfactory conclusion of the conference at Elbing was his last act, for, after an illness of fifteen days, he died April 4, 1467, and was buried in the cathedral of Königsberg.

Ludwig von Erlichshausen's opponents maintain that he was utterly wanting in ability and force of character, and possessed little or no foresight; but we believe that, had Hans von Baysen really played the rôle of a true patriot, the career of Von Erlichshausen would have been entitled to a more lenient criticism at the hands of his biographers.

## CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1467—1510.

Reus von Plauen appointed Stadtholder (1467)—The Stadtholder visits Casimir at Wilna—Von Plauen elected Grand Master (1468)—Takes the Oath of Allegiance at Petrikau—Death of Von Plauen (1470)—Von Richtenberg elected Grand Master—Exorbitant Demands of the Mercenaries—Bishop Dietrich von Cuba raises Money by the Sale of Indulgences and other Means—Von Cuba Arrested and Imprisoned—His Death—Death of Von Richtenberg (1477)—Martin Truchses von Wetzhausen elected—Refuses to take the Oath of Allegiance—Casimir invades Prussia—Reconciliation—The Grand Master swears Fealty (1479)—Disputes with the Bishops—Death of Truchses (1489)—Johann von Tiefen elected—Death of Casimir (1492)—Succeeded by John Albert—Wars in Hungary and Bohemia—Death of Von Tiefen (1497)—Duke Frederick von Meissen elected Grand Master—Refuses to swear Fealty to the King of Poland—Reichstag at Cologne (1504)—The Emperor Maximilian offers to Mediate between the Grand Master and the King of Poland—Conference at Posen—Sudden Death of Duke Frederick von Meissen (1510).

ON the death of Erlichshausen, Heinrich Reus von Plauen, who had for many years been considered one of the most able officers of the Order, was made Stadtholder. But, although he possessed consider-



able talents, he unfortunately laboured under the disadvantage of being unable to read or write, and he is said to have employed his butler as amanuensis.

The great object of Von Plauen was to postpone the election of the Grand Master, which he was enabled to do through the aid of the Deutschmaster and the Landmaster. He hoped ultimately to be able, by the assistance of the Emperor and the Pope, to induce Casimir to cede Marienburg to the Order, and to relax the conditions of vassalage on payment of an annual tribute. To conciliate the King, the Stadtholder requested an interview, which was granted, when the peace was again solemnly ratified, and Von Plauen pointed out to Casimir the necessity of joint action for the relief of all those who had suffered during the war. This Casimir agreed to, and a conference was held at Elbing in the month of August. Here Von Plauen complained that exorbitant dues were levied at Thorn on all articles of merchandise, stating that, if they were not abolished, the trade of the country would languish, as Königsberg and Dantzic would have to raise their dues in self-defence, and fresh dissensions would be created. The representatives of Thorn refused to entertain Plauen's complaint, and the matter was left to the future decision of the King. Both parties, however, did their utmost to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Prussia by introducing various reforms.

In July, 1467, Paul von Logendorf, Bishop of Ermland, died, and the Chapter at Culm immediately elected to the vacant see Nicolaus von Tüngen. The King of Poland opposed this choice, and nominated one of his favourites, Vincent Kielbassa. This created great indignation at Rome, and the ambassadors of Poland, who had proceeded thither to induce the Pope to acknowledge the "perpetual peace" and withdraw the interdict against the league, were compelled to return home with the unsatisfactory answer that Bishop Rudolf von Lavant was charged to inquire into all the questions connected with Casimir's petition. Further, if the King desired the friendship of the Pope, he must declare war against George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, and expel him from his dominions. In Poland the Order was accused of secretly inciting the Pope against Casimir. Kielbassa, who had been at the Papal Court, supported this charge by declaring that the previous Grand Master had privately persuaded the Pope not to give his sanction to the peace of Thorn. As it was of the utmost importance to disarm the suspicions of the Polish King, the Stadtholder proceeded in person to the Court of Casimir at Wilna, where he was received with hospitality, and was happily successful in the object of his visit.

Von Plauen now directed all his energies to the paying off outstanding debts, particularly those due to the mercenaries. For this purpose a large part

of the domains of the Order was sold, and many of the leaders and common soldiers of the mercenaries were satisfied by the deserted villages and districts being handed over to them as fiefs.

Towards the end of the year Casimir arrived at Marienburg, where he invited the Stadtholder to meet him. Here they deliberated on the necessity of proceeding to the election of a Grand Master. Von Plauen, to gain time, urged that it was advisable that all the castles and domains still occupied by the Poles and the league should be handed over to the Order prior to the election. This the King immediately complied with, and moreover gave passes of safe conduct to enable the Deutschmaster and the Landmaster to come to Prussia, to take part in the Grand Chapter. As regards the dues levied at Thorn, the King ordered them to be suspended until he had given his final decision. The Stadtholder was then requested to deliver his opinion upon a delicate point, namely, whether he considered it prudent to declare war against Bohemia, in accordance with the desire of the Pope. Von Plauen strongly opposed such a proceeding.

On the 15th of October, 1469, at a Grand Chapter at Königsberg, the Stadtholder was unanimously elected Grand Master. The Deutschmaster did not appear, but was represented by his principal officer, the Procurator Dietrich von Cuba. No sooner was the King of Poland informed of Plauen's

election than he called upon him to appear at the ensuing Reichstag, to take the oath of allegiance. But at this time it was reported that Casimir was about to undertake a war against Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, assisted by the Hussite King, George Podiebrad; and Von Plauen knew that, if hostilities broke out, Casimir would, immediately after his taking the oath of allegiance, call upon the Order to join him in his war. As such an act would be regarded by the Pope as a renunciation of allegiance by the knights to himself, Von Plauen resolved to oppose the war.

At this crisis the aged Bishop of Samland, Nicolaus, his principal adviser, died, and the Grand Master sought to procure the election of his great friend Dietrich von Cuba to the vacant see. As this could not be effected without the consent of the Pope, his favour had to be propitiated. The Grand Master therefore determined either to postpone his journey to Poland or to send delegates to take the oath. But Casimir was not to be outwitted, and Von Plauen was compelled in the month of November to proceed to Petrikau, accompanied by his principal councillors. Here, after taking the oath of allegiance, the Bohemian affairs were discussed. The Hussites had offered to raise the son of Casimir to the throne of Bohemia, on condition that the King of Poland concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with them against all their enemies. Von Plauen opposed the conclusion of such a treaty

without the approbation of the Pope ; for, if hostilities broke out, all the Catholic powers would become united and make common cause against the protectors and friends of the heretics. He also stated that the impecuniosity of the Order was so great, that it was impossible for them to furnish a contingent to take part in the war. Besides, if they did so, all their domains in foreign countries would be liable to confiscation. The arguments of the Grand Master had the effect of causing the treaty with Bohemia to be postponed.

The Chancellor of Poland now accused the Grand Master of having privately instigated the Pope not to ratify the perpetual peace. This Von Plauen indignantly denied, and defied his accusers to substantiate the charge.

At the last sitting of the great council of ministers, the King demanded of the Grand Master that he should not receive or allow to be published any letters patent of the Pope against the Bishops of Culm and Ermland, and also that no bishop should be acknowledged without first having received his royal consent. This Von Plauen was obliged to agree to. The meeting broke up, and the Grand Master and his advisers returned to Prussia loaded with presents from Casimir, but it was evident to all that the King regarded the knights as unmistakably subjects.

Von Plauen, who had reached an advanced age, was, on account of the fatigues of the return

journey, compelled to make a halt at Mohrungen, and here, whilst at dinner, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, from which he never recovered. He died January 2, 1470, and was buried at Königsberg beside his predecessor, Ludwig von Erlichshausen. Through the energy and discretion of Von Plauen, the condition not only of the territory of the knights, but also of that held by Poland, had been greatly improved, and through his prudent policy the animosity which rankled among the members of the league began to show signs of gradual extinction. Contemporaneous with the death of Von Plauen was that of the patriotic Von Zinnenberg, who breathed his last in great poverty at Culm.

Heinrich von Richtenberg, who had formerly been Companion of the Grand Master, and at the conclusion of the peace with Poland was made Grand Comthur, was elected Stadtholder. Shortly after the death of Von Plauen, the Chapter of Samland elected as bishop Michael Schönwald, the prebendary of the cathedral, and sent delegates to Rome to obtain the Papal sanction. But Dietrich von Cuba, supported by the Deutschmaster and his friends at the Holy See, succeeded in getting himself appointed instead, and induced his rival to content himself with one of the most valuable posts in the bishopric. The Stadtholder at first pretended to have no knowledge of Dietrich's intrigues; but when he found that the Chapter of Samland offered

no opposition, he acknowledged him as the bishop.

At a Grand Chapter held in the autumn of 1470, the Stadtholder, Heinrich von Richtenberg, was chosen Grand Master, and William of Eppingen was made Grand Comthur. The Masters of the Order were present; the Deutschmaster sent two representatives, and from this circumstance it may be inferred that the head of the Order in Germany no longer regarded the Grand Master in Prussia as his superior. Scarcely had Von Richtenberg been elected when messengers arrived, calling upon him to appear before Casimir to take the oath of allegiance, and to give his opinion as to the line of action to be adopted on the invasion of the Turks, the Pope having previously addressed a letter to the Grand Master, requesting the knights to join in a common crusade against that nation. Von Richtenberg took the oath of allegiance November 17, and Casimir then received the Papal legate, Alexander von Forli, and informed him that nothing could be undertaken towards carrying out the Pope's wishes until the Pontiff had sanctioned the perpetual peace, a sanction which the legate promised to do his utmost to obtain.

As the knights were still indebted for war expenses, the Grand Master, on his return to Prussia, assembled a Chapter at Königsberg, where several most stringent economical reforms in the Order were adopted.

A Landtag was assembled in the beginning of 1471, when the deputies, finding that the knights had reduced their own pay and allowances, consented to a general income tax for the period of a year. The Bishop Dietrich von Cuba also assisted in inducing some of the mercenaries to agree to the terms of the Order.

The dispute with reference to the See of Ermland continued up to the death of Pope Paul, in 1471, and Sixtus IV., who succeeded him, desired to come to terms with the King of Poland. Casimir's nominee in Ermland having died, he appointed Andreas Oporowski, Canon of Plotzk, as Bishop of Ermland, and Sixtus IV. seized this opportunity to gratify the King by acknowledging the new bishop, although he was thereby annulling the election of Nicolaus von Tüngen, which had been sanctioned by the former Pope. Von Tüngen now determined to attempt to take forcible possession of his bishopric, counting on the assistance of the Hungarians (who were then at war with Poland) and of the Margrave of Brandenburg, together with the discontented mercenaries, who, their pay being as usual hopelessly in arrear, were now in open revolt against the Order.\* With the assistance of

\* Casimir, at the request of the knights, had ordered the Duke of Sagan not to press the Grand Master for the moneys due. But the Duke, finding that payment was constantly postponed, demanded an immediate settlement from the King, but received little satisfaction in that quarter. Von Sagan, with a large number of Silesians,



mercenaries he seized Braunsberg and several other neighbouring towns.

The Grand Master, feeling himself too weak to put down the revolt, requested Bishop Dietrich to mediate. Accordingly, with the permission of the King of Poland, a Landtag was held at Elbing; but the demands of the mercenaries were so exorbitant, that the knights declined to entertain them, at which the leaders of these hirelings were greatly incensed, and not only bade defiance to the Order, but also to the King of Poland. At the sitting, the Waiwode of Lancziz accused the Grand Master of being in direct communication with Bishop Nicolaus von Tüngen, and that he had wilfully allowed that prelate to enter Prussia, being anxious for the expulsion of the new Polish Bishop of Culm. If this were true, we must regard the conduct of the Grand Master as an intrigue by which to conciliate the goodwill of the league and the Polish Prussians, who were greatly adverse to Poles occupying any considerable post in their country. At last it was arranged that the question of Bishop von Tüngen's right to the See of Ermland should be decided by the Pope. The King of Poland, however, stipulated that, pending this decision, certain castles belonging to the see should be handed over

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thereupon seized Soldau and its districts, and, in an attempt to disperse the mercenaries, the knights and their retainers were shamefully defeated.

to his custody. His Prussian subjects refused to do this or to expel the bishop, and the determined attitude of the citizens of Thorn induced Casimir to forego his plan of forcibly occupying the bishopric.

The Grand Master, to increase his influence at Rome, had filled up the vacant post of procurator by the Bishop of Samland, Dietrich von Cuba, for the space of one year. The bishop proposed to afford pecuniary assistance to the Grand Master by obtaining from the Pope several letters of indulgence; the money thus acquired to be divided between the Pope, the bishop, and the Grand Master. On Von Cuba's return from Rome, it was soon found that, if the collection of the money remained in his hands, little or none would ever be touched by the knights, as the bishop arrogated to himself the right of first satisfying the claims of his own see. To counteract this design, the Grand Master ordered the bishop only to grant indulgences to his own subjects, and that the Bulls should not be promulgated for another year. Von Cuba agreed to this latter condition, and offered to surrender one-half of the receipts arising from the sale, provided the Grand Master would at once lend him 100,000 gulden. Von Richtenberg evaded these proposals, but requested the bishop to allow the collecting of the war tax in his see, to enable him to pay the mercenaries their arrears. Von Cuba declined; whereupon the Grand Master invited the

bishop to meet him at Thorn, accompanied by his principal officials. On the other hand, the prelate demanded that Von Richtenberg and all the knights should meet him at the church of St. Nicholas, and thence accompany him, with all the honours of a sovereign prince, to his apartments, while the Bulls should be carried in advance of the cavalcade. This the Grand Master would not do, but sent some of his principal officers to receive the ambitious prelate. Von Cuba on the ensuing day scornfully refused to proceed to the presence of the Grand Master, unless he were conducted thither as Papal legate and procurator. The knights, however, continuing resolute, the bishop at last agreed to postpone the publication of the Bulls for a short time, that the war tax should be levied in his see after the space of twelve months, and to give a part of the money obtained by him from the sale of indulgences, but he would never renounce his absolute right of collecting the money.

Shortly after this, the Master in Franconia informed the Grand Master that Von Cuba had stripped the churches in Samland of all their principal treasures to enable him to purchase the Bull and the rank of legate, and that during his presence in Rome he had actually received from his bishopric the sum of 3,200 ducats, while he still owed a large sum of money to the Holy See. Again, from letters which fell into the hands of the Grand Master, from the Kurfürst Frederick of

Bavaria to the Bishop of Samland, it came to light that this ecclesiastic had requested the assistance of Frederick of Bavaria at Rome, and that he himself intended secretly to leave Prussia to proceed to the Court of that prince, after having sold his indulgences as profitably as possible.

On February 16, 1474, Von Cuba issued a letter dated from Königsberg to all the bishops and prelates of the country, calling upon them to publish from their pastoral chairs the Papal Bull, which some of them did, and a very considerable sum of money was collected. It now became evident that the legate, Von Cuba, intended conveying this money out of Prussia to buy protection from the Papal Court. As an effectual counter stroke, the Grand Master had Von Cuba arrested and conveyed to the castle of Tapiau, and called together representatives of the principal towns and of the country of Samland to give their opinion as to the recent conduct of the bishop. The assembly declared that the condition of all classes in the see was far more prosperous than the rest of Prussia when Dietrich von Cuba was appointed, and that the churches and ecclesiastical establishments were then amply supplied and adorned with plate and other costly articles; but that the bishop had stripped them of nearly everything, and that they were now hopelessly in debt. • These statements were fully confirmed by the Chapter of Samland. The Grand Master now forwarded to the Archbishop of Riga a written complaint, con-

taining the charges brought against Von Cuba ; but the archbishop, although fully convinced of the correctness of the indictments, informed the Grand Master that, as Metropolitan and Archbishop of Prussia, he should be obliged to place him and all those who had assisted in bringing about the arrest of the bishop under the ban if they did not at once release their prisoner. The knights had now no other alternative but to order their procurator at Rome to bring forward their accusations against the bishop.

After six months' confinement Von Cuba attempted to escape. He was thereupon conducted to a cell, where he was manacled to the wall, and it is said that he died shortly after from the severity of the punishment. That his death was not violent was proved by his body being taken to Königsberg and publicly exhibited before being interred. Seven persons who had witnessed his death proceeded to Rome to be interrogated by Pope Sixtus, who was at first greatly enraged at the way in which Von Cuba had been treated, but he was pacified on receiving a large donation from the Order.

Von Richtenberg granted to the Samlanders several valuable privileges in connexion with the right of inheritance. Also, to prevent Casimir interfering with the affairs of the bishopric, he made several concessions to Poland for the prevention of smuggling and other illicit trades on the frontier, which were detrimental to the revenue of that country.

A regular court was appointed to be held annually, to hear and decide on all frontier disputes. Secretly, however, the Grand Master was intriguing at this time with Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, the Duke of Masovia, and the discontented leaders of the league, to expel the Poles from Prussia, but death prevented Von Richtenberg from carrying out his patriotic object. He died February 31, 1477. His opponents declare that his end was a miserable one, and that he was haunted to the last with visions of the murdered bishop.

Von Richtenberg was a man of superior talents, and appears on the whole to have ruled the country in a just and humane manner. At his death the people were prosperous, and the predominance of Poland was on the wane.

Martin Truchses von Wetzhausen, Comthur of Osterode, was raised to the dignity of Grand Master on the 4th of August, 1477. Truchses, having received promises of support from the King of Hungary and his friends in Germany, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Poland, who thereupon invaded Ermland, but was checked in his advance by the Grand Master. On Casimir becoming reconciled with Matthias Corvinus, Von Wetzhausen deemed it prudent to meet the King of Poland at Petrikau; but he still declined to swear allegiance, whereupon Casimir broke off all negotiations. The councillors and envoys entreated the resolute Grand Master to come to a reconciliation,

and he at length, not caring that Casimir should resort to extreme measures, followed him to Neustadt, where he took the oath, October 9, 1479.

Casimir then paid the Order 8,000 gulden on his troops re-occupying Culm, and two further sums of 1,480 gulden and 3,000 gulden, fixed by the commissioners who had been appointed to estimate the damage done by the Polish troops in Ermland. But this money was not nearly sufficient to cover the debt which the knights had incurred in raising mercenaries for the war of independence. They actually owed at this time to Von Sagan alone the sum of 39,800 gulden. To pay off a part of these onerous burdens, therefore, fresh taxes were imposed, and the right of the Order to take possession of all stranded property was enforced.

Up to the year 1483 the Grand Master was constantly engaged in petty disputes with the prelates concerning the appropriation of the money derived from granting indulgences.

In 1487 the Grand Master called together a great Landtag, where he made several concessions which greatly increased his popularity. This determined defender of the rights of the Order breathed his last on the 5th of January, 1489.

Johann von Tiefen, who had been Comthur of the town of Brandenburg in 1481, was now elected Grand Master (1489), and, after taking the oath of allegiance, he commenced devoting all his energies to the improvement and welfare of the people. In

1492 Casimir died. As it was through his policy that Prussia became a fief of Poland, it may not be out of place to make a few remarks on his reign and character. In most of his actions the ideas of Jagello come to the surface. The Poles naturally disliked him for having contrived to bring about the separation of Lithuania from Poland during his brother's absence. The crafty monarch had, however, done this to enable him, should he succeed his brother, to make the union of the two kingdoms conditional on the nobles relieving him from swearing to the *Pacta Conventa*; but he was, after all, forced by the threat of the election of another candidate to follow the example of his predecessors and take the oath.

Ivan Basilevitch, the antitype of Peter the Great, after having taken possession of Novgorod, had subjugated Sieweritz and a part of White Russia; Casimir, not being very certain of the friendship of the Russians, considered it advisable to allow the Muscovite conqueror to retain his acquisitions as the price of peace. This induced the Tartars to invade Lithuania, but they were defeated in two engagements by John Albert, Casimir's son.

On the death of Wladislaus, Hungary and Bohemia became the scene of a revolutionary struggle. Casimir, having married the daughter of Albert, was the legitimate heir; but the Hussite, George Podiebrad, made himself Regent of Bohemia, and Matthias Corvinus, son of the celebrated Hunyady, seized



the crown of Hungary. Matthias, finding that Casimir, hampered by his differences with the Order, declined to accept the throne of Bohemia either for himself or his son, after Podiebrad's excommunication by the Pope, determined to unite that kingdom with Hungary.

On the death of George Podiebrad, Wladislaus, who was greatly disliked by his father, was crowned King of Bohemia at Prague. Casimir now commenced intriguing with the disaffected Hungarian nobles for the deposition of Matthias Corvinus, and despatched his second son Casimir with 20,000 Poles to expel the son of Hunyady; but they were defeated by Matthias, and driven across the frontier. On the death of this great Hungarian, his countrymen elected John Albert, the third son of Casimir; but Wladislaus, who was as ambitious and unprincipled as his father, gained over to his side the widow of Matthias, and with her assistance had himself proclaimed king. A fierce and desperate fratricidal war commenced. John Albert was defeated and taken prisoner, and was not released until he had renounced all claims to the throne of Hungary, whilst Casimir, in indignation and revenge for the unnatural conduct of his son Wladislaus, disinherited him; and writers affirm that the anxiety and distress caused by these troubles hastened the King's death.

Under Casimir's rule, the system of representative Diets was introduced, each palatinate and every

district sending two deputies. From this period Poland was to all intents and purposes an aristocratic republic, and the sole labour of the Diet was to destroy the power of the executive, and reduce all who were not of noble origin to the worst condition of serfdom. Casimir was succeeded by his third son John Albert, in 1492.

In the year 1497, in compliance with a request from the King of Poland for assistance against the Turks, the Grand Master, at the head of 800 horsemen, proceeded to join the King, but died on the march, at Lemberg, from an attack of dysentery. The knights who accompanied John Albert on this unfortunate expedition had to cover his rear in the retreat from Moldavia, where they were surrounded and nearly all cut to pieces, so that but few returned to Prussia. Von Tiefen had reached an advanced age when elected, but he possessed all the activity and energy of a young man. He had raised himself from the lowest post in the Order to that of Grand Master, and appears to have been beloved by every one for his manifold good qualities. His body was interred with great pomp, and he was the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Order who was buried in the crypt of the cathedral of Königsberg.

At a General Chapter, the majority of the knights were of opinion that the only means of preventing the downfall of the Order, and of achieving the expulsion of the Poles, was the election of some powerful German prince, who could count on suffi-

cient external assistance to accomplish these objects. Messengers were therefore despatched to Germany, and the friends of the Order advised the knights to elect Duke Frederick of Saxony, which they did in 1498. The Duke hesitated at first to throw off the allegiance to Poland, but, being assured of the assistance of the Kurfürsts at the Reichstag at Augsburg and Freitag, he entered Prussia, accompanied by a considerable retinue. John Albert, on calling upon him to swear fealty, met with a firm refusal, the Duke alleging that he was forbidden to do so by the Emperor. Hostilities now became imminent, but the death of John Albert established a temporary calm. His brother Alexander, who succeeded to the throne, now appealed to Pope Julius II., and so far successfully that Duke Frederick received orders from the Holy See to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Thorn; but the Grand Master referred the Pontiff to the conclave of cardinals and the Emperor. In 1504 Duke Frederick proceeded to the Reichstag at Cologne, where he attempted to prove the illegality of the treaty of Thorn. The Emperor had already, prior to this, given substantial proofs that he regarded the principal towns of Prussia as imperial, and Dantzic was shortly after placed under the ban for disobeying the imperial edict.

Both sides now began preparing for war. In 1506 the Pope attempted to interfere, but the Poles contended that the peace of Thorn was still in force,

and therefore they did not require his mediation. The Grand Master assembled a Landtag, at which the police laws of Kuchmeister and Erlichshausen were renewed, and arrangements were made for mustering all the available forces of the Order, as it was expected that the new King of Poland, Sigismund, who had succeeded his brother Alexander, would commence taking active measures to punish the contumacy of the knights, who, through their Grand Master, still refused to take the oath of fealty. The Grand Master informed the Landtag at Memel that he had gained over to the side of the Order the Emperor Maximilian, the King of Hungary, and his own house, and that he himself intended to return to Germany. At the suggestion of Duke Frederick, to prevent bloodshed if possible, the Emperor and the King of Hungary now opened negotiations with the King of Poland. At a conference which was held at Posen (1510), Duke Frederick demanded of the Polish King that that part of the treaty of Thorn which bound the Grand Masters to take the oath of allegiance to him should no longer continue in force, and that the admission of Poles into the Order should be discontinued. Sigismund would not forego his right of receiving the oath of allegiance, but he was not unwilling to make other concessions. As neither party would give way in regard to the vexed question, the conference broke up, but it was agreed that a fresh meeting should take place.

The interest of the Order requiring the presence of the Grand Master in Germany on the first favourable opportunity, he handed over the government of the country during his absence to William von Eisenberg as Stadtholder, assisted by the Grand Comthur, Simon von Drahn. Unfortunately, at this juncture Duke Frederick died suddenly, in 1510, at Rochlitz, and his death caused considerable disunion amongst the knights.

The Stadtholder, William von Eisenberg, favoured the idea of another German prince being made Grand Master. His opponents urged that, if a prince were elected, he would not be content with the present revenue of that high office, and that fresh taxes would therefore have to be enforced, which would create discontent amongst the people. Moreover, the friendship of the Emperor appeared likely to prove very one-sided, that is to say, the title of Grand Master would probably be made hereditary in the family of the elected prince, on his agreeing to throw off his connexion with Poland and place Prussia under the rule of the Emperors of Germany. There was also another great peril to the Order in having a German prince at its head, as the religious contentions in Germany already gave signs of an impending storm, and the prince elected might, by his family ties, be drawn into the vortex.

## CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1510—1522.

The Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg elected Grand Master (1511) refuses to take the Oath of Allegiance to his Uncle Sigismund—Diet of Posen (1515)—Death of the Emperor Maximilian—Sigismund summons the Grand Master to Thorn (1519)—Sigismund invades Prussia—Devastates Pomerania—Armistice—Negotiations for Peace (1520)—Siege of Heilsberg—Discontent of the Mercenaries—Equivocal Policy of the Grand Master—Mediation of the Emperor Charles V.—Four Years' Truce (1521)—Conditions—Siege of Belgrade—Condition of Prussia—Debasement of Coinage—Expedients for raising Money—The Grand Master assumes Sovereign Power—His Underhand Policy—The Grand Master repairs to Prague (1522)—George, Bishop of Samland, Regent.

THE Stadtholder, William von Eisenberg, who was already in negotiation with Joachim, Kurfürst of Brandenburg, was induced by that prince to bring forward as candidate for the post of Grand Master his cousin, the Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, grandson of Albert Achilles, and nephew of Sigismund, King of Poland. His election was supported by the Emperor Maximilian and Duke George of Saxony.

The young prince had been educated by the Archbishop of Cologne, and had been present at the siege of Padua, and, under the care of his father, had accompanied Maximilian in most of his military expeditions. At the time of his accepting the candidature, he occupied the post of canon of the cathedral of Cologne, and had not yet attained his twenty-second year. Albrecht possessed all those peculiar talents without which a ruler in this stormy era could scarcely maintain his footing.

The King of Poland approved of the selection, but demanded that the new Grand Master should swear allegiance within six months. On the 13th of February, 1511, the Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg was solemnly invested with the insignia of Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights at Mergentheim, and in the following year he made his triumphal entry into Königsberg. His first step was to restore order in Samogitia, which was then in a very unsettled condition. As the trade in amber was one of the chief sources of the Order's revenue, the Grand Master organized a regular body of custom-house officers to patrol along the beach to prevent its being illegally collected.

Casimir, the brother of the Margrave, a man of a subtle and intriguing disposition, had been commissioned by the Grand Master to induce Sigismund to modify his demands concerning the oath of allegiance. Sigismund, to strengthen his friendly relations with his nephew, the Grand Master, invited

the latter to his marriage with the daughter of Stephen Zapohay, and sister of John of Hungary.

The young Grand Master, who saw in this a trap cunningly laid to force him to take the oath of allegiance, declined the invitation, and sent the Pomesanian bishop, Von Dobeneck, with a brilliant suite to represent him at the ceremony.

Sigismund, who knew that the wealth and influence of the family of Brandenburg would be of the greatest assistance to him in the war he was then waging against the Muscovites under Gliniski, now offered to allow the Grand Master annually the sum of 2,000 ducats and cede to him considerable territory in Podolia on his acknowledging his vassalage.

These overtures were declined, as the young Grand Master hoped, with the assistance of the Pope and his family, not only to make himself independent, but also to recover all Polish Prussia should any disaster befall the Polish army in Russia.

The King of Poland now despatched ambassadors to Rome to secure the support of Pope Leo X., but the Pontiff remained firm to the interest of the Order, and reprimanded the King for not having accepted the Grand Master's proposed compromise; he further advised him to refer the decision of the entire affair to the Lateran Council.

In return for this, the Grand Master permitted a monk, named John Baptist, to sell indulgences from the Pope, allowing them to eat food prepared with



milk to be eaten on fast days, by which the Pontiff obtained a very considerable sum of money.

In the year 1513, to the astonishment of many knights who had supported the election of the Margrave Albert, the forebodings of their opponents were verified, for at a Reichstag, which was held in 1513 at Treves and also at Cologne, it was proposed that the territory of the Order should be incorporated into the German Empire. The Margrave, finding that this discussion did not create any outburst of opposition amongst the strong opposition on the part of the knights, determined to exercise his sovereign power, and in 1513 offered to renounce all the rights of the Grand Masters over Liefland (Livonia), together with the yearly tribute which the Master of Liefland had to pay to the Grand Masters, on condition of the former paying him a ton of gold. As no opposition followed this audacious violation of all the rules of the knights, the Margrave now commenced ruling as an independent sovereign.

Some idea can be formed of the influence of the Brandenburg family at this time from the fact that the King of Poland, at a Diet at Posen (1515), declared that he no longer objected to the Order consisting of nothing but German knights, and the Emperor withdrawing the interdict which he had placed on Dantzic and Elbing at the request of the Grand Master.

The cause of these concessions was as follows:—

Both Sigismund and the Emperor required the alliance of the Zollern family. The former knew that, if he could depend on them, he would be in a position to prosecute his war against the Russians and Turks. The Emperor, in his turn, desired their alliance to enable him to carry out his ambitious projects towards Bohemia and Hungary.

The Grand Master's treasury being in a satisfactory condition, he reprovisioned the strongholds, and made large purchases of war material.

In 1517, under the pretext of contracting an offensive and defensive alliance with Brandenburg, he persuaded the knights to resign their right to the repurchase of the Neumark.

At a conference of the princes of the family, the representative of the Master of Liefland, Walter von Plettenberg, declared that that province would assist the Grand Master if he openly refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Polish King, and the Brandenburgers, in return for the concessions the knights had made to them, guaranteed a free passage of troops through the Neumark and their dominions.

In the year 1518 Sigismund, having lost his queen, espoused Princess Bonna Sforza, daughter of Duke John of Milan.\* By this marriage Sigismund hoped

\* The Duke of Sforza was a descendant of Jacopo Attendolo, who was born at Faenza of humble parentage. The exploits of the Condottieri excited his youthful imagination, and he left the plough to enlist under Alberico da Barbiano. In a great battle fought at

to detach Maximilian from his alliance with the Order. In fact, Polish historians state that the Emperor not only undertook to help Poland against the Muscovites, but also to force the Grand Master to take the oath of allegiance. Unfortunately for Sigismund, the Emperor Maximilian died in 1519, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles V.

The Poles were unable to commence hostilities on account of their armies being on the frontiers of Russia. In the same year (1519), the hired troops who had been subsidized by the Grand Master commenced operations by burning Meseritz, but were defeated in their attempt to penetrate into Polish Prussia by way of Konitz and Posen. After this check the greater part of the mercenaries entered the service of Christian II. of Denmark, who, with the assistance of the Archbishop of Upsala, was attempting to re-conquer Sweden. But the Grand Master was nothing daunted, although he feared that the new Emperor Charles V. would in all probability side with Poland. It has been stated that the Emperor

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Marino against the "Breton Company" in the pay of Pope Gregory XI., Jacopo Attendolo performed such feats of valour that his name became celebrated all over Italy under the surname of Sforza. After a series of triumphs in the pay of various Italian republics, he became High Constable under Janna II. of Naples. For having recovered Rome for Pope Martin, he received as reward the fief of Cotignola, his native place, with the title of Count. He met his death while crossing the river Pescara, and his son Francesco Sforza after his death became Duke of Milan.

had written to the Grand Master, calling upon him to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Poland. Nevertheless, whether Sigismund believed he could reckon on the aid of the Emperor or not, he ordered the Grand Master to appear before him at Thorn. As no notice was taken of this summons, Sigismund entered Prussia at the head of 20,000 men, and on the 19th of December, 1519, declared war against the Order.

The Poles as usual commenced plundering the country, Pomesania being the first to experience their tender mercies. The Grand Master, availing himself of this, suddenly surprised and captured Braunsberg, the inhabitants of which were forced to take the oath of allegiance. We are told that the burgomaster connived at the easy surrender of the town. The Poles on their side in a very short time seized several important places, and defeated a corps of the knights at Liebemuhl. In a second engagement the knights were commanded by the Margrave in person, but were repulsed, and the Grand Master was wounded; and in consequence of this disaster Mohrungen and Osterode submitted to Sigismund. A force of 8,000 Poles now laid siege to Prussian Holland, but they were compelled to retire precipitately, and in their retreat they were overtaken by the knights and totally routed, with the loss of 2,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The war was now prosecuted with only partial success on either side. Melsack was captured by

the Order; Marienwerder by the Poles. The Bishop of Pomesania, to save his see from pillage, acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Poland, an act which naturally produced a most disheartening effect, and Prussian Holland and the towns of Brandenburg and Heiligenbeil capitulated.

The Polish army now advanced to the vicinity of Königsberg, crossed the Pregel, and were about to invade Samland, when the Grand Master, believing that all was lost, concluded an armistice with the King of Poland, and proceeded to Thorn to ascertain on what conditions a reconciliation could be effected. Pending negotiations the Margrave received secret information that King Christian of Denmark, having been acknowledged King of Sweden and Denmark by the Estates at Upsala, had despatched to his assistance 2,500 men. He thereupon quitted Thorn and broke off all negotiations. The Dantzigers, to prevent the landing of the Danes, closed the smaller entrance to the Frische Haff by sinking vessels, but were unable to close the wider channel, and during these operations they burnt part of Memel. The Margrave recaptured Wormdit, but Braunsberg still held out. Albrecht now offered to conclude a peace with Poland on the following terms:—

The King should deliver over to the Order all their former territory, and in return the Grand Master offered to acknowledge Sigismund as his feudal lord for that portion of the knights' possessions

situated on the east bank of the Vistula. This Sigismund indignantly refused.

Heilsberg, having for a long time defied the efforts of the Grand Master, had by its constant sorties forced him to withdraw his troops.

During the siege he had thrown upwards of 800 projectiles and 200 shells into the town. At this critical juncture, Wolf von Schöneberg and William von Eisenberg, at the head of 14,000 men, with nineteen pieces of artillery and two large siege guns, arrived in Prussia to the assistance of the Order; but they brought with them no military chest, provision, or stores, and for some unaccountable reason the Grand Master seems to have made no attempt to supply the mercenaries with these, the most necessary item of war at such a time—that is, if he wished to spare his people from being plundered.

On the appearance of the Germans, Konitz, Stargard, and Dirschau at once surrendered; but Dantzic manfully withstood the efforts of the mercenaries, who now directed their steps to Oliva. Here the deputies of Putzig met them, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Grand Master. Want of pay and provisions created great discontent, and, finding that the Grand Master made no attempt to assist them, they dispersed, and commenced plundering the country; but before they could return home they were attacked, and the greater part of the booty was recaptured. We have just seen

that the cause of the Germans returning home was the want of provisions and money, and that the Grand Master made no effort to assist them. At the time of which we are speaking, the Grand Master had been reinforced by the Danes, and had at his command a park of artillery vastly superior to any which his opponents could bring into the field, and his troops were nearly all commanded by veterans. Yet, with all these odds in his favour, he never attempted to attack the Polish garrison on the Werder, which commanded the passage of the Vistula, although it was only defended by 3,000 Poles. Had he done this, the Margrave could have effected a junction with the German contingent. In case of his being defeated, the possession of Braunsberg would have covered his retreat; besides, the Poles and their subjects in Prussia must have surrendered, had the Margrave joined his German allies. If we take the above into consideration, it appears highly probable that the Margrave was actuated by some ulterior motive, for the purpose of destroying the power of the knights.

After the defeat of the Germans, Albrecht greatly increased his military chest, by imposing heavy war contributions in the shape of income tax and other obnoxious imposts. The priests and nobles were also compelled to contribute their share. The lead was taken from the roofs of the churches and converted into shot, and the church bells were cast into cannon.

It is true that the conquests made by the German mercenaries were soon lost to the Poles, but the Grand Master captured Johannisburg, in Masovia, and defeated a troop of Tartars, for Sigismund had now a considerable force of these barbarians in his pay.

In 1521 the Order captured Gutstadt. Elbing would also have been captured by surprise, had not the knights retreated on the death of their leader. Both belligerents now shunned an engagement in the open field, and contented themselves with plundering and devastating each other's territory.

During these hostilities, the envoys of the Emperor Charles V. and Wladislaus of Hungary had been attempting to bring about a peace, and in April, 1521, a four years' truce was concluded.

The conditions of the truce were:—

1. That all hostilities should immediately cease.
2. That the question as to the oath of allegiance should be referred to the Emperor, aided by the advice of the Cardinal Matthew of Salzburg and Duke George of Saxony, and, in the absence of the Emperor, by Archduke Ferdinand and King Lewis of Hungary and Bohemia, aided by the advice of Cardinal Thomas of Grau and Bishop George of Fünfkirchen. .
3. The mercenaries of the Order were to return to Pomerania, the King of Poland undertaking to pay and support them during their march.
4. The arbitrators had also to decide in respect of all conquests made by both belligerents.



5. All prisoners on both sides to be set at liberty ; and no change was to be made in the above terms until the arbitrators had given their decision.

Finally, it was agreed that the Pope should be requested to instruct the above-mentioned cardinals to steadfastly endeavour to effect a permanent peace before the expiration of the truce.

What chiefly induced Sigismund to conclude this truce was the siege of Belgrade by the Sultan Soliman, who, having no other conquest to make in Asia, was resolved to throw his immense forces into Europe.

By the truce the Polish King was able to detach a force of 6,000 men, under Count Tarnowski, to the succour of Belgrade. A large portion of Prussia had now been reduced to poverty and starvation. Party feuds had greatly increased, and the roads were no longer safe for travellers. By circulating bad coin, the Prussian money was reduced to only one-third of its original value. The only person who profited by the war was the Margrave, for by his exactions his military chest was full, and he had a well trained and efficient force of his own adherents.

Strengthened by this, he now had his own enactments published by having them attached to the doors of the churches, without asking the advice of the Landtag or any of his fellow-knights. Various calumnious reports were now artfully circulated against the Order by the German agents of the Margrave.

But the Prussians began to suspect the real designs of Albrecht, and at the Landtag of Bartenstein, 1521, the deputies declared that they objected to the assumption of sovereign power by the Grand Master, and that they were determined to remain faithful to the Order. The insolent conduct of many of the Franconian nobles, who had followed Albrecht to Prussia, created such discontent that the Margrave Casimir was obliged to leave Prussia, and the following illegal act of the Margrave excited the hatred of the priests. At the commencement of the war, he had ordered all the silver ornaments and precious articles of the churches and religious establishments to be conveyed to Königsberg, under the plea of saving them from being carried off by the Poles.

In order to obtain a fresh supply of money, the Grand Master now deliberately had them melted down and struck into money. Not content with this, he attempted again to mulct his unfortunate subjects. The towns at first refused, but by dismissing many burgomasters and other officials, and replacing them by willing instruments, he, with the assistance of the nobles, attained his object.

The Margrave had, some time previously, intimated to his councillors that he intended pleading the cause of the Order at Nuremberg, and induced the Regent to assemble the arbitrators to bring about an early peace with Poland, but to effect this fresh funds were necessary. The subjects of the

Order had now become thoroughly convinced of the utter impossibility of renewing the struggle with Poland, and that no help could be expected from Germany on account of the religious agitation. In order to understand why the Grand Master required so much money, we must bear in mind that, in the days of which we are speaking, favours could only be obtained from the advisers of European sovereigns by means of bribes.

Albrecht's interests were represented at the Court of Poland by his brother, the Margrave Casimir; at Rome, by the Margrave John; at the Court of Vienna, by Heinrich and Dietrich von Schöneberg, George of Saxony, and Doberitz, the Duke of Liegnitz; at Presburg, by the Margrave George. His interests at the Reichstag were represented by his cousin, the Archbishop of Mentz. Although ostensibly supporting the interests of the knights, these representatives had had secret instructions to destroy their power, and secure Prussia for the Grand Master and his family.

During the negotiations for a truce, hostilities were still carried on, and the Hungarian mercenaries committed frightful excesses on the subjects of the Order. Some idea may be formed as to the debasement of coin when we find Albrecht writing to his secretary, "It matters little so long as they have the external appearance of purity, and the mercenaries are ready to accept them."

On the 25th of May, 1521, Bishop Hiob of Po-

mesania died suddenly. The Grand Master seized this opportunity to obtain the election either of one of his relations or some willing instrument, through the medium of his brother John, who was then at Rome. The Pontiff gave John the Provostship of Zschillen, a very lucrative office.

The government of the bishopric was intrusted by Albrecht to the Haus Comthur of Königsberg, and the ecclesiastical matters to George, Bishop of Samland. By these means the greater part of the revenue of the bishopric was received by the Grand Master until the appointment of a fresh bishop.

We have before seen that the successors of St. Peter had several times unsuccessfully requested the Order to assist the Hungarians in their wars with the Turks, and the Margrave now determined to offer his services to the King of Hungary for that purpose. In so doing, he knew he would ingratiate himself with the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Hungary, and that during his absence Germany would protect the Order from any attack on the part of Poland. Besides, his army of mercenaries would be paid by his allies, and he himself, after the completion of the campaign, would have a large outstanding debt for his own personal services.

It is highly probable that Albrecht believed that, if he undertook the crusade against the Turks, he might be able to induce the King of Poland to make concessions prior to his leaving Prussia; but Sigismund, being informed of the Margrave's

intention and his wish to come to terms, gave a most chilling answer to his overtures, and declared that if the Grand Master wished to settle matters amicably, he had only to carry out the unfulfilled conditions of the "perpetual peace."

To counteract any increase of power on the part of the Margrave, Sigismund obtained the nomination of Cardinal Achilles de Grossis as Bishop of Pomesania, with the promise that he would restore to the Bishop of Riesenburg the town or city which he then held. The cardinal despatched a representative to Pomesania, who formally took possession of the see in his name, and arranged that the cardinal in his absence should receive annually the sum of 3,000 ducats.

The Grand Master formally protested against the proceedings, and called upon Pope Adrian to acknowledge the right of the Chapter to elect their own bishop. At a Landtag held at Graudenz, March, 1522, for the purpose of settling some disputes concerning the trade of the two countries and the coin then in circulation in the Order's territory, the Grand Master's representatives absented themselves, and after a long debate it was decided by the Poles that all further commercial intercourse with the knights' subjects should be discontinued, and that the coins struck in Prussia under the present Grand Master should no longer be considered a legal tender in Poland, until the Grand Master had repealed the exorbitant dues he was exacting. During the war

with Poland the Grand Master appears to have contracted a considerable debt with the Kurfürst Joachim of Brandenburg. This prince had repeatedly pressed him for payment. The Grand Master, who had no desire to part with his hoarded wealth, called upon the Order in Prussia to enable him to raise the necessary funds, as it was utterly impossible at that moment to increase the fiscal burdens of the country. The Order called upon the Master of Liefland to assist them, but this officer declared that the Lieflanders were themselves as heavily taxed as the Prussians. The Grand Master now hit upon the following plan, by which his individual authority over that province would be greatly increased.

He proposed to his council that they should hand over Liefland to Joachim as security for his money, and as there was little chance of the Lieflanders being able to redeem their province, on account of their impecuniosity, the Grand Master could easily, if he pleased, redeem Liefland with the funds he had hoarded up. His councillors appear to have been so utterly blind that they not only agreed to the Grand Master's plan, but went to Liefland to arrange matters with the Master, who, foreseeing the ulterior object of Albrecht, assembled a Landtag, which unanimously opposed the scheme, and despatched envoys to Joachim and the Grand Master, promising to do all in their power to aid Albrecht in repaying the debt. Lewis, King of Hungary, now invited the Grand Master to meet him at

Prague during Easter, which invitation Albrecht accepted. After having received the promise of the King of Poland that no act of hostility should be committed by him or his subjects against the knights, the Grand Master left Prussia on the 10th of April, 1522. During his absence the government of the country was carried on by George, Bishop of Samland, as Regent, and William von Eisenberg as Stadtholder. King Lewis of Hungary met the Margrave before the gates of Prague, at the head of all his principal nobles and state officials.

Lewis now seemed to have changed his opinion as to the desirability of the Grand Master assisting him with a force against the Turks, but he informed the Grand Master that he had requested the King of Poland to send representatives to Vienna, where he and the Archduke Ferdinand, who then acted as Regent for the Emperor, who was then in Spain, would do their best to arrange a peace. During his sojourn in Prague, a deputation arrived from the Deutsch-master to demand that the Grand Master should rule in accordance with the laws and regulations of the Teutonic Order. We have seen how the Grand Master had constantly violated the statutes of the Order for his own personal aggrandizement in Prussia, and it would seem that he had been constantly demanding fresh funds from the Deutsch-master without the knowledge or consent of the knights; and another cause of complaint was that Albrecht had undertaken to pay and maintain the

large contingent of German mercenaries which had been despatched to him during the war. Having failed to do this, the mercenaries, on their return to Germany, had seized several of the knights' domains, which they refused to surrender unless their arrears of pay were settled. The Deutschmaster therefore required that the Margrave should make himself responsible in writing for the sum of 7,000 gulden, to assist him in settling with the mercenaries. The Deutschmaster had requested the Master of Liefland to join him in calling the Grand Master to account, but that official, fearing the Margrave might pledge his province to the Kurfürst Joachim, declined to have anything to do with the matter.

Albrecht, who trusted he should be able to obtain fresh funds from the knights in Germany, gave an evasive answer to the deputies, and postponed any discussion on the subject until his return to Prussia.



## CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1522—1525.

The Margrave Albrecht repairs to Nuremberg (1522)—Ambitious Designs of the Deutschmaster—The Ten Conditions—Conference at Graudenz (1523)—The Grand Master enlists Mercenaries to assist—The Fugitive King Christian of Denmark—Negotiations of the Margrave to change the Constitution of the Order—Consults Martin Luther for Advice (1523)—Letter of Luther on the Subject—Double Dealing of the Grand Master—First Evangelical Sermon preached at Königsberg—Secret Instructions of the Margrave to the Regent—Bishop Polenz (1524)—Increasing Agitation for Religious Reform—Protest of the Deutschmaster—Discontent at the Grand Master's prolonged Absence from Prussia—Secret Overtures of the Margrave to Sigismund—Duplicity of the Grand Master—Papal Remonstrances — Conference of Presburg postponed — The Margrave arrives at Vienna (January, 1525)—Sends Envoys to Sigismund at Cracow—Conditions proposed by the King of Poland—The Final Treaty—The Margrave enters Cracow (April 2, 1525)—Swears Fealty to Sigismund—Returns to Königsberg (May 9, 1525).

THE Margrave Albrecht left Prague in the month of July, 1522, for Franconia, so as to be near Nuremberg, where he trusted, through the religious controversy then agitating Germany, to obtain the

support of the Papal party in carrying out his ambitious views. The condition of Prussia was at this period most deplorable. All trade with Poland was at a standstill, and foreign merchants deserted the ports on account of the heavy import duties and debased coinage. The Bishop of Samland induced the King of Poland to consent that Polish produce might be purchased in Poland for good coin; but this was of no benefit to the subjects of the knights, as all the good money had either left the country or been withdrawn from circulation for the Grand Master's foreign intrigues. It appears that about this time Henry VIII. of England also interested himself in behalf of the Order, for we find that monarch writing on the 22nd of September, 1522, requesting the King of Poland to come to terms with the Grand Master.

Albrecht, finding that the King of Hungary and the Archduke Ferdinand would not move in the matter of appointing a period for a settlement of the Polish question without the consent of Sigismund, instructed his brother, the Margrave John, to request the Emperor that the mediators should at once name a day for the commencement of the conferences, with or without the consent of either the Grand Master or the King of Poland.

The Deutschmaster, finding that no arrangement could be come to with the Margrave, did his utmost to have himself acknowledged as imperial prince, which position would enable him to treat on terms

of equality with the Grand Master, and by his newly acquired power force the Margrave to rule in Prussia in accordance with the regulations of the Order. In former times the Deutschmaster occupied the same post in the Reichstag as the Grand Master during the latter's absence. Albrecht, on learning the designs of the Deutschmaster, spared no effort to prevent their accomplishment.

Königsberg and the other towns of Prussia were now on the verge of revolt. They had, in fact, refused to pay the increased taxes. The Bishop of Samland, who acted as Regent, had made himself odious to the people by the inexorable and hard-hearted manner in which he carried out the orders of the Margrave for raising fresh funds.

In the midst of this turmoil of intrigue, misery, and discontent, the celebrated Bishop Fabian of Ermland died on the 30th of January, 1523. The town and palace of Heilbronn, the residence of the bishop, was immediately seized by a Polish captain at Sigismund's order. The Grand Master enjoined his brother and his procurator Busch to persuade the Pope to allow a candidate of his own choosing to be appointed to the vacant bishopric, which the Pontiff consented to do on condition of the Grand Master paying upwards of a thousand ducats. This Albrecht declined. Thereupon Pope Adrian declared he should remain neutral in the matter of the next election. The Margrave, who had constantly been attempting to obtain pecuniary

assistance from the Deutschmaster, was now informed by the latter that he would advance 7,000 gulden on the Grand Master agreeing to ten conditions, the principal of which were that neither he nor any of his successors or knights in Prussia or Liefland were to interfere in the election of the Deutschmaster, and that the Margrave would not take away any of his present prerogatives. The Grand Master had also to bind himself not to dismiss any official appointed by the Deutschmaster, and neither to raise money nor pledge any part of the German domains of the Order without his special consent, and, finally, that after agreeing to the above conditions, he should in no way whatever attempt to evade carrying them out by means of Papal Bulls or imperial edicts, of which he was to take no heed. Albrecht declined to agree to the conditions unless they were greatly modified, as they tended manifestly to render the Deutschmaster independent, and called upon the latter to advance him the sum of 15,000 gulden, nominally for the purpose of effecting a favourable compromise with the King of Poland, but really to be used either for bribes or some other private object.

The Deutschmaster remained inflexible, but promised, if the Grand Master would agree to the conditions, he would at once set to work and strain every nerve to assist him in his pecuniary difficulties. The King of Poland, to prevent the Grand Master

accusing the Poles of having committed acts of violence against the subjects of the Order, publicly called together a conference at Graudenz, in which all those who had any charge to bring against his people were to appear, and, to the credit of Sigismund, ample justice was dealt to all parties.

Albrecht at last induced the Emperor to order George of Saxony to arrange the preliminaries of a peace conference as soon as possible. Through the intercession of the Queen of Hungary, King Lewis wrote to George of Saxony and to the Archduke Ferdinand that the peace conference should commence on the ensuing Michaelmas-day, but it was shortly after postponed at the urgent request of the King of Poland.

As there appeared to be little chance of a settlement for some time, the Margrave lent a ready ear to the overtures of the Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg to assist him in reinstating King Christian on the throne of Denmark, especially as the latter was believed to have a considerable treasure with him.\*

\* This monarch, by his attempts to coerce the nobility and impose fresh taxes, had caused a revolt during the war with Sweden. At an assembly of the Estates, the latter formally deposed him and elected his uncle Frederick, Duke of Sleswig-Holstein, and the Swedes, availing themselves of this favourable opportunity, raised Gustavus Vasa to the throne, at a Diet assembled at Strengnaes. Thus the Union of Calmar, which had lasted 126 years, came to a termination. At his coronation Frederick was forced by the nobles to declare the Danish crown elective, although it had been heredi-

The Margrave enlisted a large body of mercenaries in Germany, but, not having received the necessary moneys to pay the troops, he repaired to Berlin, where the fugitive king then resided, and, to his great chagrin, there discovered that, however willing Christian might be, he had not sufficient funds to repay him for his trouble. Doubtless in the arrangement which the Grand Master had made with Christian, prior to raising mercenaries, he had been promised the assistance of the latter against the Poles.

The Deutschmaster, becoming aware of this, charged the Grand Master with wilfully wasting valuable time in enlisting soldiers for the King of Denmark, instead of looking after the interests of the Order, and stated that, should Christian become entangled with Dantzic, Sigismund would accuse the Order of being the abettors.

The Grand Master again demanded from the Deutschmaster 15,000 gulden to enable him to proceed to Pesth, to take part in the conferences. The Deutschmaster declined to give it, unless the Margrave signed the ten conditions, and further stated that he and his Chapter were ready to abide by the decision of the Pope or the Emperor, but the Grand Master rejected the latter proposal.

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tary since the time of Magnus Lagabaeter. Christian fled from Copenhagen to the Netherlands, to solicit assistance from the Emperor and princes of Germany.

From all we can learn of the Margrave's transactions with his brothers, it is apparent to us that the Grand Master was himself the cause of the conferences being so constantly put off, as he could not induce the arbitrators to agree to his designs concerning the Order. He had already been in negotiation with Pope Adrian concerning certain changes which he wished to make in the statutes of the Order; but, however tempting his offers might have been, the Pope distinctly refused to sanction the contemplated changes. The Margrave, finding the Pontiff inflexible, now turned his attention to another quarter.

In the Reform doctrine which was then agitating Germany, Albrecht believed he saw the way to obtain his great object, and opened secret negotiations with Luther, through his confidential adviser, Master John Oeden, who submitted to Luther the rules and statutes of the Teutonic Order, stating that the Grand Master wished to introduce a thorough reform in its organization, and requesting him to give his counsel as to how this was to be carried out in accordance with the true Christian faith, promising that he would act up to the letter of Luther's advice. In the autumn of the year 1523 the Margrave had a secret interview with the Reformer at Wittenberg. Here we are told the fiery apostle of the Reformed faith advised the Margrave to take a wife, declare himself an independent sovereign, and introduce the Reformation. We subjoin the

translation of a letter of Luther referring to this interview :—

*“ To John Brismann, venerable brother in Christ.*

“ Grace and peace in Christ. Your kind letter gave me much pleasure and filled my heart with joy, seeing that the Lord Jesus has sent His word to you.

“ We love you greatly, because you wish the truth to be spread, not by violence or tumult, but by the power of the word only.

“ Our friend Paulus Speratus has come amongst you, having been sent by our august master.

“ I heartily commend him to you. He is a very worthy man, and well informed as to what is going on in these parts.

“ Satan has stirred up amongst us various prophets, who strive to maintain and spread their doctrines by the use of force.

“ There is a report that a cruel edict of the Emperor has been published, in order henceforth to extinguish the detested Lutheran sect, and several cities of the empire are in great fear; but Christ lives and reigns, and will triumph over all His enemies.

“ When the Margrave Albert first consulted me as regards the Order, I advised him to disregard its absurd and effete statutes and get married. I recommended him further to establish in Prussia a regular government, either as a dukedom or principality.



“Philip gave him the same advice. He, however, only smiled, and said nothing in reply. Subsequently I found that he approved of my plan, and was anxious to mature it as soon as possible. He thought that it could be best carried out if the people, headed by some of the nobles, first urged him to do so,” &c., &c.

Albrecht could now, if the mediators refused to acknowledge him in his independence, bring forward the authority and advice of Luther as a pretext for his violating his oath of Grand Master, and thereby gain the support of the German Reformers, especially if backed by a portion of his Prussian subjects. Already in 1518 the doctrines of Luther were preached by a priest named Knade, and his example was followed by John Boscenstein, Doctor Schulz, and others, some of whom married.

Luther was now openly doing his utmost to introduce the Reform doctrines into Prussia. This afforded the Grand Master a favourable opportunity of currying favour with the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Hungary. He accordingly wrote to the Master of Liefland, ordering him to punish in the most severe manner all those guilty of heresy, and instructed the procurator at Rome to represent to the Pope that, to his deep regret, the Reformed faith had found adherents amongst the knights, and requesting the Pontiff's advice as to the best means of coercing the offenders. The Grand Master hoped

that by doing this he would be able to persuade Cardinal de Grossis to resign his bishopric to him, on condition of receiving a yearly salary ; but these negotiations were frustrated by the death of the cardinal and Pope Adrian, who was succeeded by Pope Clement VII.

The Grand Master now, to prevent the bishopric of Culm being filled up by Sigismund, induced the Chapter to secretly elect a friend of Luther's, named Doctor Erard von Queis (formerly secretary to the Duke of Leignitz). Sigismund, however, had sufficient influence to obtain the election of the Canon of Frauenburg as the Bishop of Ermland.

Von Queis, although a Lutheran at heart, did not dare to commence the work of reform until his election had been sanctioned by the Pope. At this time the Reformed faith was openly acknowledged by many of the inhabitants of Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing. Many of the nuns had left their cloisters for the purpose of marrying. The Margrave was in the mean time exerting himself in the most secret manner to prepare his subjects for the Reformation, and his Regent, George von Samland, was also ordered to connive at the spread of the Reformed faith. The knights and ecclesiastics, who believed the Margrave's devotion to the Church of Rome, naturally carried out his orders to suppress the doctrines of Luther, and thereby gained the hatred of the Reformers.

On November 15th the first Evangelical sermon was preached in Königsberg by John Brismann, to whom we find Luther writing about this time:—

*“To John Brismann.*

“Dear brother in Christ,—I duly received your two letters, but could not reply to them before as I had no messenger by whom to forward a letter.

“I now send you a note by the person who brought the previous ones. I beg you will remember me to the Bishop of Samland, that illustrious vessel of Christ, and convey to him my humble greetings.

“I shall not neglect, when a convenient opportunity presents itself, to dedicate a book to him, so that his name may support my character as a Christian.”

The Grand Master had now recourse to the following clever plan of propagating Luther's Evangelical doctrines. His secretary Christopher Gattenhofer and a certain Wolfgang Maler established a printing-press and paper-mill; and this establishment was placed under the direct superintendence of Bishop George, which may be considered to be the commencement of the inspired Prussian press system. The Grand Master, who had been residing at Berlin during the recess of the Reichstag, now returned to Nuremberg. We are told that he had again another interview with

Luther at Wittenberg, to ask his advice as to the line of action he should follow at the Reichstag, for the Margrave was already suspected of secretly conspiring against the Papacy.

The Margrave now began to intrigue against the Deutschmaster to prevent the latter from taking his seat in the Diet. Other causes conspired to excite the Deutschmaster's suspicions as to the sincerity of the Grand Master, who still kept together a large number of mercenaries, under the plea that they were intended for the service of the Danish King, and we find that his subjects in Prussia, particularly at Königsberg, strenuously resisted the payment of fresh taxes, as they suspected that the Grand Master intended using the money to raise troops to renew hostilities with Poland, the termination of the four years' truce being imminent.

On the other hand, the Grand Master indignantly affirmed that these suspicions were unfounded, and that he was doing his utmost either to bring about a prolongation of the peace or a final settlement. But the fact was, he was not very sanguine that the result of the conferences would be in his favour, for he feared that Prussia would either be declared a fief of Poland or of the Empire.

At the commencement of the year 1524, he had secretly given instructions to his regent in Prussia to allow sermons to be preached and also the baptismal service to be read in the vernacular, and that Luther's translation of the Bible should be circulated.

The agents of the Grand Master artfully represented to the people that their misery and poverty were occasioned by the oppressions and exactions of the Romish Church and the knights. These reports so excited the mass of the lower orders that many churches and monasteries were plundered, and the members of the Order were constantly insulted. Orders were issued that a list should be taken of all the plate, pictures, and other valuables possessed by the ecclesiastical establishments, so as to prevent any article of value being carried out of the country prior to the intended confiscation of church property.

On the celebration of Easter and Pentecost the Regent, Bishop George, cast aside the mask and openly advocated the doctrines of the Reformers. In confirmation of this we find Luther writing on the 1st of February, 1524, expressing his joy that at last a bishop in Prussia had the courage to preach against the doctrines of Satan.

The Grand Master still pretended to ignore his connexion with the Lutherans, but Pope Clement, in an interview with the Margrave John at Rome, openly charged the Margrave Albert of treacherously allying himself with the enemies of the Holy See, and that he could no longer honestly expect the support of the Papacy, as, although the sworn champion of the Catholic faith, he had not only violated his oath as a warrior of Christ, but also as a subject of the Pope and the Emperor.

The Margrave did not attempt to deny the correctness of the Pope's accusations, but, as a proof of his regard for the old religion, he ordered the Regent to prevent, if possible, the knights discontinuing to wear the distinctive costume of the Order, and directed that the brothers should, under any circumstance, retain the sign of the Cross. This arose from the lives of the knights being constantly in danger on account of the malignant feeling of the lower orders towards them, as they were the cause of the heavy burden of taxation and the promoters of the renewal of the war with Poland. By this deceitful policy Prussia was divided into two hostile camps, serious *émeutes* being of everyday occurrence. Each day the agitation increased, for the majority of the people were totally unacquainted with the ambitious projects cherished in the heart of the Grand Master, who dared not openly avow his intentions to any honest man of the Order, such as Reus von Plauen.

At a Landtag, which was held at Königsberg in July, 1524, the deputies of town and country stoutly refused to grant the Grand Master any further subsidies. In this dilemma the Margrave resolved to apply to the King of Denmark for the repayment of the money which he had expended in raising troops for him. The Danish King, having no funds, had allowed the Grand Master to confiscate all Danish property in Prussia as an indemnification. The Prussians now openly expressed their disappro-

bation of the prolonged absence of the Margrave, and many expressed a desire that he should be called upon to resign. The report also reached the Margrave that the Deutschmaster and the Master of Liefland, fearing that the spread of the Reformation would bring about the expulsion of those who adhered to the Catholic religion from their offices, had sought the Pope's protection. He thereupon despatched to the Margrave John at Rome a refutation of the allegations brought against him by the Pope. In this document the Margrave adroitly evaded the question of the direct assistance he had afforded to the Reformers, and desired his brother to lose no time in expressing to the Sovereign Pontiff his unbounded respect and fidelity towards him; but his brother, in his reply, stated that the Pope was fully cognizant of his underhand support of the Lutherans. The Margrave Casimir, it would seem, had some time previously been treating with Sigismund as to the terms he would grant, should his brother the Margrave Albrecht abdicate the post of Grand Master in favour of a Polish nominee, alleging that the Margrave's religious convictions impelled him to take some step of the kind. This was just what Sigismund did not wish, as he was unwilling to lose the alliance of his nephew, who, as his vassal, could be of incalculable assistance to him in case of a war with the Emperor. Casimir informed the King that it was the intention of the Margrave to enter the service of the King of France, although it is well

known that he had negotiated to aid the Emperor against the French monarch.

Luther, who was well aware of all the phases of this intrigue, sent instructions to his agents in Prussia to prepare the people for the inauguration of the Margrave as their sovereign and the total abolition of the Order. In his letters at this period, Luther enjoins his friends to exhort the people from the pulpit to call upon the Grand Master "to abolish such a government as that of the Order, which was neither religious nor secular, and to appeal to the Margrave to marry and establish a regular form of government." The Margrave had some time before addressed certain questions to Luther as to the claims of the Pontiffs to be considered the successors of St. Peter.

The following is Luther's reply to the first question:—

*"To Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg.*

"Most illustrious prince, most gracious lord,—  
Herewith I send a reply to the questions put by your highness.

"Q. 1. Did Christ build His Church on Peter and his successors, the Popes?

"*Reply.* No, but upon Jesus Christ only, the Son of God. That neither Peter nor the Popes are to be regarded as the foundation stone of the Church can be proved in many ways. First, because the gates of hell have prevailed against Peter and the



Popes, inasmuch as they all have sometimes sinned.

“For to prevail against does not mean to take away honour, riches, or physical power, but to overcome by faith and holiness in the spirit. Therefore such a foundation means one without sin, and who cannot sin, which is Christ alone.”

Albert now repaired to Vienna to ascertain in what light he was there regarded. During his stay there he was informed that the King of Hungary had summoned a conference at Presburg for January 6, 1525. Shortly after Archduke Ferdinand, as representing the Emperor, invited the Grand Master to appear, either in person or through envoys, at the conference for the arrangement of a compromise between Poland and the Order; but just at this time the Papal legate in Vienna had a formal interview with the Grand Master, and demanded, in the name of the Pope, that the Bishop of Samland should be at once ejected from his office, and steps taken to prevent the further progress of the Reformation.

The Margrave, who was not a man likely to shrink from any expedient, now despatched to the Bishop of Samland a recapitulation of the Pope's complaints, and expressed his dissatisfaction at the bishop's acts, which had been carried out without his advice or knowledge, and requested that the innovations should immediately be discontinued.

The Grand Master placed in the hands of the legate a copy of this letter, and wrote on the same

day to the bishop privately, telling him that he had been compelled to deny his relations with the Reformers to conciliate the Pope. He also requested the bishop to answer his letter in such a way as not to compromise him. In conclusion, the Margrave promised "to protect the bishop to the utmost, as long as he was preserved by the grace of God."

On November 13th we find the Grand Master again writing an indignant letter refuting the charges against him, but this time it was to his brother John and the procurator at Rome. It was, doubtless, intended to be shown to the advisers of the Pope, for both of his agents must have been fully cognizant of his connexion with Luther. In his letter he says: "The charge against us of being Lutheran is unfounded, and this we can prove from the fact that we have always strenuously put down any sectarian teaching opposed to the true faith, and, to the best of our knowledge, up to the present time we have acted as becomes a pious Christian prince, and; after arranging our affairs with Poland, it is our sincere determination to place ourselves at the disposal of the Holy Father, from which resolution neither Luther nor any other human being shall dissuade us."

The Deutschmaster now forwarded an ultimatum demanding that the Grand Master should at once publicly disavow his support of the Lutherans in Prussia, and that he should punish the bishop and priests

who had fallen away from the Catholic faith, and also prove to the Deutschmaster's satisfaction that he had no intention of renouncing the Catholic faith and espousing a wife, or of making himself the hereditary ruler of Prussia. In case of the Grand Master not complying with these demands, the Deutschmaster would refuse all pecuniary assistance, but he would advance 7,000 gulden on the Margrave signing the ten conditions.

The Grand Master, as usual, denied all knowledge of what was going on in Prussia; and as to his Lutheran principles, they were nothing but the calumnies of his opponents, pretending that he had no power to coerce a sovereign bishop. The Margrave concluded his epistle by ordering the Deutschmaster to forward him 10,000 gulden to enable him to take part in the conference of Presburg.

The dispute with the Deutschmaster continued until the end of the year. In January, 1525, Albrecht had arrived at Vienna, *en route* for Presburg, when he was informed that the meeting had again been postponed, on account of Sigismund wishing to consult the Polish Reichstag as to the *modus vivendi* to be adopted at the conference. It would seem that the Grand Master had about this time dexterously managed to overreach the Deutschmaster and to obtain from him 7,000 gulden, to be repaid in the space of one year, which if not carried out, the ten conditions were to come into force.

As the Prussian commissioners had already been selected, and many of the representatives of the princes were on their way to Presburg, the Grand Master, after protesting to the Archduke against the delay, proceeded to Ofen and wrote to the representatives, calling upon them at once to proceed to the investigation of the case. On the Margrave's arrival at Ofen, the capital of Hungary, the Papal legate Campeggio handed to him a letter from the Pontiff, dated December 1, 1524.

In this document the Pope reiterated all the former accusations against Albrecht, and categorically demanded of him that he should at once order the Bishop of Samland to appear before the Papal legate, and if he could not satisfactorily answer the charges brought against him, he should be immediately expelled from his see, and a fresh bishop appointed. Although the Grand Master knew better than any man that Campeggio was most thoroughly acquainted with all the ramifications of the spread of the Reformed faith in all parts of Europe—for he was then specially intrusted with this subject by the Pope—yet Albrecht had the boldness to repeat his perfect ignorance as to what was said and written in Prussia.

He drew the attention of the legate to the state of agitation which prevailed throughout Germany, and showed that neither sword nor prison had been able to intimidate the followers of Luther. He therefore counselled a policy of moderation in

Prussia until his return to that country, when he would at once put an end to all those innovations and practices which were at variance with the Catholic faith. After several weeks spent in fruitless attempts to induce the King of Hungary to call upon Sigismund to send commissioners, Albrecht applied to those who were supposed to exercise an influence on Ferdinand. This prince now, in conjunction with the King of Hungary, requested the Grand Master and the King of Poland to agree to the prolongation of the compromise for several years, the exact period to be afterwards fixed.

It seems somewhat strange that the Grand Master was not acquainted with the intention of the King of Poland not to send envoys. At Ofen, it became evident to him that he could expect little sympathy from the arbitrators—the Emperor, the King of Hungary, Archduke Ferdinand, Duke George of Saxony, and the Archbishop of Salzburg, who were strong supporters of the Papacy—if they believed that he was in any way connected with the Reformers, and this would become evident if he returned to Prussia—for the agents of Luther had already made considerable progress in inducing the people to no longer regard him as Grand Master, but as their Protestant saviour, who would redress their wrongs, and overthrow for ever the supremacy of the Pope.

In fact, Albrecht had now no other alternative but to throw off the cloak of hypocrisy. He ac-

cordingly entrusted his brother George of Brandenburg and the Duke of Liegnitz to recommence his former negotiations with Sigismund. The princes repaired to Cracow, and the Grand Master, who had been residing for some time in Silesia, proceeded to Beuthen, about fifty miles from Cracow, so as to be close at hand.

On the 19th of March, Albrecht's envoys returned to him with the answer—1. That the King of Poland would not consent to any alteration of the articles objected to by the Grand Master, and promised, if the Margrave would acknowledge Sigismund as his feudal lord, and declare Prussia to be a fief of the Crown of Poland, he would restore to him all the conquests made during the last war.

2. That the Grand Master should restore all the conquered territory in Ermland to the bishop, who, in return, would allow the Grand Master for life the annual sum of 3,000 marks.

3. That Prussia should become a ducal fief of Poland, and that the brothers of the Margrave, Casimir, George, and John, should be heirs presumptive, but none could inherit the fief unless he first swore allegiance to the King of Poland.

For appearance' sake, the Grand Master summoned several Prussian representatives. Although they were supposed to be willing instruments, they strongly objected to the last condition, but, overcome by the arguments of the princes and the

Grand Master, these patriotic representatives of the interests of Prussia agreed to renounce their right of demanding that these conditions should be sanctioned by a general Landtag.

The Grand Master in his reply to the King requested that he should be allowed to occupy Braunsberg, Tolkemit, Neumark, and Brathean; but this the King refused, as it was at variance with his coronation oath, but offered to pay the Margrave for life the sum of 4,000 gulden. The following were the principal conditions of the treaty—the most remarkable incident of European history—in which the Margrave is for the first time styled Duke Albrecht.

1. All pending disputes between the King of Poland, Duke Albrecht, the Duke of Masovia, and the Bishops of Ermland and Culm were to cease.

2. Each of the contracting parties to restore all towns, castles, districts, and munitions captured during the war.

3. Full amnesty to be granted to all those who had avoided military service, and the children of those who had been executed on account of the above offence should receive back their forfeited inheritance.

4. No punishment to be dealt out to any town that had not been true to its allegiance, either to the Grand Master or to the King of Poland, respectively.

5. The relations between the Grand Master and priests to be clearly defined.

6. Duke Albrecht was to acknowledge himself as the hereditary vassal of the King, and also the Margrave George should take part in the oath of allegiance; and the Margraves Casimir and John should within a year give in their solemn adherence to the above compact.

7. After the death of the four Margraves and their heirs, all the specified domains of the fief should lapse to the Crown of Poland.

8. The King undertook to guarantee and protect all privileges and rights of the subjects of the Duke which were not at variance with his feudal obligations.

9. The Duke of Prussia was to occupy the next seat to the King of Poland in every Landtag or Reichstag.

10. The Dukes of Prussia before selling any part of their domains were bound to offer it for purchase first to the King of Poland a year before the intended sale; and also that castles and towns could only be pledged to the Duke's immediate vassals.

11. No feudal military service would be required from the Duke for six years, unless the King of Poland was entangled in a war on account of the treaty. After this period the Duke was always to have on the Polish frontier a force of one hundred well-equipped cavalry. If these or more



were required by the King beyond the frontiers of the Duke, the King of Poland undertook to pay and maintain them.

12. All restrictions on trade between the two countries to be abolished.

13. No fresh taxes or tolls to be levied without the consent of both parties.

14. Dantzic, Elbing, and Thorn, and the Duke of Prussia to have the right of coining money ; but this was not to come into operation before a special commission had decided on the question.

15. The Grand Master had to renounce, in the name of himself and successors, any privilege formerly granted to the Order by the Emperors, the Popes, or the Kings of Poland.

On the 2nd of April the Grand Master, clad in the robes of office, entered Cracow, where he was most splendidly received by the King.

On the 9th of April the deputies affixed their signature to the treaty, with the declaration that henceforth all Prussians would regard the Duke as their hereditary sovereign.

On the following day the King, surrounded by his nobles, wearing the crown and sceptre, took his seat on the throne which had been erected for this purpose. At a given signal seven councillors of the Order, headed by the Bishop of Pomesania, appeared before the throne, and on their knees requested that the oath of allegiance should be administered. The Bishop of Cracow having answered in the affirmative, the

Duke, accompanied by the Margrave George, Duke Frederick of Liegnitz, together with several representatives of Prussia, on nearing the King first thanked him for his gracious kindness, and declared that his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the King and the subsequent war was caused by the knights; that he had constantly done his utmost to prevent hostilities, and, as a sign of his desire to become a vassal of Poland, presented to the King the original document by which Prussia was bestowed on the Teutonic Order by the Emperor Frederick II. of Germany; then knelt down and received in his hands the flag of vassalage, of white damask, on which was embroidered a black eagle with golden claws, with streaks of gold on the wings, and the letter "S" worked in silver on the breast. Albrecht then proceeded to solemnly swear allegiance on the Testament, which had been deposited on the knees of the King. Sigismund, having with three strokes of the imperial sword dubbed the Duke a knight, then encircled his neck with a golden chain and handed to him the vassal's banner. After this Albrecht took his place beside the King, and several Polish and Prussian notables were knighted. The ceremony was concluded by a *Te Deum* in the cathedral and a grand banquet.

The Duke despatched a manifesto to the imperial princes of Germany, declaring that he had been compelled to conclude the above arrangement with

the King of Poland on account of the Emperor and the Pope having forsaken him. Duke Albrecht now hurried to Brieg to order his crown jewels and robes. They were as follows: a gold chain, to which was attached an eagle with outspread wings ornamented with diamonds; also a golden crown set with precious stones, and on the breast of the eagle was worked the letter "S." On the 9th of May he returned to Königsberg, after an absence of three years, and was received by his Protestant supporters with acclamations of welcome.

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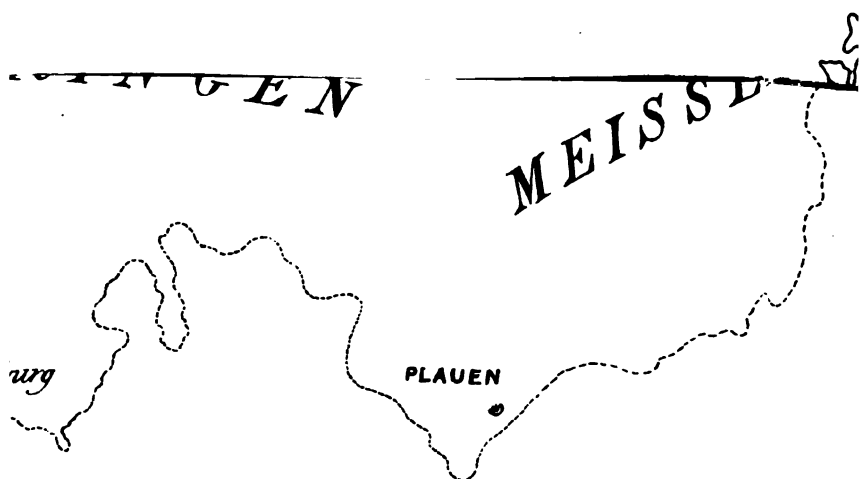
**THE**  
**HISTORY OF BRANDENBURG,**  
**FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD.**



*Schmalkden*

*Henneberg*

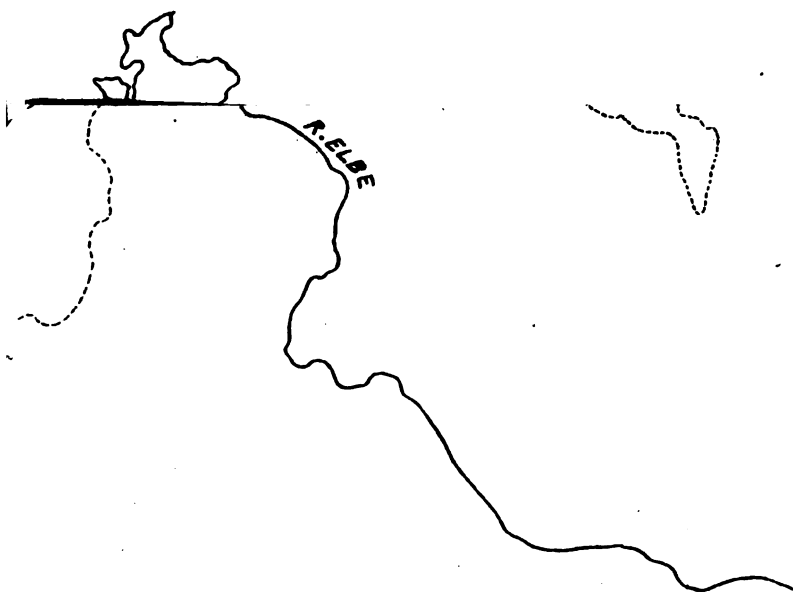
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# BALTIC S I







# HISTORY OF BRANDENBURG.

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## CHAPTER I.

A.D. 940—1132.

History of the German Race from B.C. 120 until A.D. 600—The first Inhabitants of Brandenburg—The Wends and Slaves—Conquests of Charlemagne—Trasiko, King of the Obotrites—Death of Charlemagne (814)—Division of the Empire—Revolt of the Wends—Henry the Fowler subdues the Wends—Gero first Margrave of the "Nord Mark" (940)—Conquest of Brandenburg by Lothair (994)—Lothair made Hereditary Margrave—History of Brandenburg from Werner (1003) to Udo IV. (1130)—Battle of Aschersleben—Death of Udo—Conrad von Plötzkau (1130)—Conrad killed at the Siege of Monza (1132).

THE history of the ancient inhabitants of Brandenburg is so closely connected with that of other German tribes that we think it advisable first to give a condensed account of the German race, as derived from the earliest reliable historians. The first mention that we have of the German nations is about 120 B.C. Little or nothing is known of their origin, but it is presumed that they belonged to the

Indo-European family, on account of affinities in the German dialect with Latin, Greek, Sanscrit, &c. They seem to have migrated from their original settlements in Asia, and gradually penetrated into Europe, driving before them the Keltic race. The advance of these barbarous hordes appears to have been regulated by the mountain ranges traversing Central Europe. One body of them settled down between the Vistula and the Rhine, the Baltic and the Danube, and were called by the Romans "Germani," a word of German origin, signifying "Spearmen."

In 113 B.C. two of the then German tribes, known as the Cimbri and Teutones, left their settlements on the coasts of the North Sea and migrated southwards, overrunning the Roman province of Noricum, now Styria, where they encountered and defeated the Consul Papirius Carbo. They then entered Switzerland, and were joined at Zurich by another tribe named the Tigurini. This tremendous force, after overrunning Gaul and Spain, resolved to conquer Italy, and for this purpose separated into two bodies—the Cimbri advanced by way of Tyrol; the Teutones, with their allies the Ambrones, marched through Provence. The Romans despatched their two most able generals, Marius and Catulus, against these barbarians, who are said to have numbered nearly 300,000 fighting men. Marius entrenched himself in a camp on the Rhone; and Catulus determined to oppose the Cim-

bri in their progress through the Tyrolese mountain passes.

After several unsuccessful attempts to storm Marius' camp, the Teutones sought to penetrate into Italy by another route. Marius quickly followed, and overtook them at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), where he again adopted his former tactics of entrenching himself in a camp and keeping on the defensive.

The Roman grooms whilst conveying water to the camp were attacked by the Ambrones. The former, being armed, repelled their assailants and drove them back to their waggon barricade. The women, we are told, urged their husbands to renew the fight, in which they themselves joined. For two days the struggle was carried on with doubtful success, but on the third day the military talents of Marius and the discipline of his troops prevailed, and the Teutones fled, after having lost upwards of 100,000 men.

Catulus, being unable to prevent the advance of the Cimbri, was obliged to fall back; but Marius having effected a junction with him, the two generals advanced to meet the barbarians in the open field, and on the 30th of July, 101 B.C., a great battle was fought on the plains of Vercellæ. The Cimbri were almost annihilated, and their wives, who had taken up their position behind the barricade of waggons, killed themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans.

The next mention we have of the Germanic race

is the war between Julius Cæsar and Arcovistus, chief of the Suevi, who had crossed the Rhine to assist the Sequani. Julius Cæsar, to whom the province of Gaul was assigned by the Senate, marched against Ariovistus, who was totally routed at Vesontio (Besançon), 58 B.C., and forced to recross the Rhine. Octavius Augustus on becoming Emperor determined to subjugate the German tribes, and despatched his son-in-law Drusus to carry out his project.

The victorious career of the Roman legions partially cleared up the impenetrable mist which up to this time surrounded the early history of the Germanic race. Latin writers describe the Teutons as a people of gigantic stature, light hair, blue eyes, and a florid complexion, and wearing either skins or coarse woven flax. From infancy they were trained to perform feats of strength and dexterity. One of their favourite pastimes resembled the Scottish sword-dance.

The men occupied themselves solely with hunting and warfare, whilst the women and slaves performed domestic and agricultural duties—a peculiarity still to be remarked in many parts of Germany, where the women often perform a far greater amount of out-door work than the men. On the whole, the Germans appear to have been a moral race, although they were in the habit of celebrating their *fêtes* amid drunkenness and gambling.

The different German tribes seem to have been

at constant war with one another, and every tribe, however small, was, on account of its ardent love of independence, willing to be exterminated rather than be subjugated. The domestic life of these early Germans resembled in some respects that of their descendants of the present day. The ties of relationship were held most sacred, all members of the same family being bound to assist one another to the utmost.

The authority of the father was almost absolute in his own household, which was expressed by the word "Munt," hence all the members of the family under the father's roof and authority were said to be "unmündig," a word still used in German to denote minors.

The son attained his majority as soon as he was capable of bearing arms, and the daughter on her betrothal, which generally took place at a public assembly.

Their dwellings were isolated wooden structures surrounded by a wall or embankment, and generally fortified in such a manner as to prevent a surprise.

There existed but two classes among them—freemen and serfs, the latter being composed of prisoners of war or those freemen who had forfeited their freedom by some criminal offence. Those in a state of serfdom could neither possess property nor enjoy any political rights. In a word, serfs were considered in the light of chattels rather than human beings. The higher class of freemen comprised such

as were distinguished either by their noble birth, by the extent of their property, or the number of their retainers. These were called "Adelings" or "Nobles," who, although possessing no special prerogatives, yet exercised considerable influence in proportion to their estate.

The government of each tribe was democratic, inasmuch as all matters of government or legislation were discussed at public meetings, at which every freeman had a voice. A public meeting of freemen, called the "Mahl," was held at fixed periods for the administration of justice and the discussion of all questions affecting the commonwealth.

In the earliest period they appear to have had neither kings nor princes, but in process of time certain nobles were elected commanders by popular vote, and assumed the title of "Fürst" (Prince) or "Graf" (Count), which gradually became hereditary. In time of war the public assembly elected a general, who was called the "Herzog,"—literally, the leader of the army,—and every freeman was bound to appear armed when summoned, provided the war was of a public nature. Not so, however, in private warfare, that is, when any noble undertook an expedition on his own account, either to avenge some private wrong or for his own special interest.

In this latter case the noble, or liege lord, invited his retainers or dependents to enter his service by the promise of pay or a share of the plunder. In their military campaigns they were accompanied

by their wives and children, who were protected by waggon barricades, and from time to time, during the conflict, supplied the warriors with food or other requisites.

Their system of warfare was very simple, the army consisting for the most part of infantry. On the signal for attack being given, they advanced against the enemy with an impetuous rush, amidst cries and gesticulations and war - songs. Their first rank generally consisted of members of the same family, and, to render their attack more irresistible, their bodies were sometimes connected by chains. They were armed with a short two-edged sword, a spear, a long lance, and a battle-axe. For defence, they were protected by long oblong wooden shields, which were painted with grotesque figures. The head was protected by a helmet made of the head of some wild animal, the horns protruding, the rest of the skin hanging down the back as a cloak.

These Germans lived in a state of semi-barbarism, and without the slightest acquaintance with art or science, or with any of the refinements of the ancient Greeks or Romans. But it must not be hence inferred that they were complete savages, as they were distinguished by certain characteristics which would have done honour even to the more refined nations of antiquity. Of these may be mentioned, their respect for the weaker sex and their exemplary domestic life. Moreover, they had some



slight knowledge of the art of writing, using runic characters, either for inscriptions or for rude poetry, which consisted of war-songs celebrating the deeds and exploits of their warriors, recited at all their festivities by a distinct class of men styled Scalds.

Some of these songs recounted in heroic verse the legends connected with the origin of the German race, viz., that their great hero Tuisco, the son of Hertha (Earth), created Mannus, who had three sons, the founders of the three German families, the Ingäwones, Hermiones, and Istäwones. The following tribes, the Batavi, Belgæ, Treviri, Ubii, and Wangiones, probably belonged to the latter of the above-mentioned families, and resided on the Lower and Middle Rhine. The Frisians, Marsi, Amsivari, Chamavi, Bructeri, and Sigambri belonged to the family of the Ingäwones, and occupied the country lying between the Weser, the Rhine, and the North Sea. The last family, the Hermiones, consisted of the Chatti, Cherusci, Hermunduri, and Suevi, who dwelt between the Elbe and Danube.

Some writers maintain that in the religion of the early Germans there is clear proof that they entertained the belief in an Almighty Being, in a future life, and in a new creation, when this world would pass away, and be replaced by a kind of paradise. They designated their supreme deity "Allvater," "Father of all," to whom they attributed the creation of the world and of all natural agencies.

They had, further, three principal deities: Woden, corresponding to Minerva (the god of wisdom); Donar or Thor (the god of thunder); and Fro (the god of productiveness). The god of war was called Zin, and their principal goddess Frauwa or Friga, corresponding to Venus of the Greeks and Romans. They appear also to have worshipped a mystical goddess, supposed to reside in some distant island in the North Sea, and known by the name of Hertha, the origin of the word "Erde" (Earth). The sun and moon were also regarded as deities. From the general notion that everything in nature was endowed with life and connected with the deity sprang the belief in intermediate beings exerting a supernatural influence over the affairs of the world. Such were nymphs, fauns, hobgoblins, gnomes, dwarfs, giants, &c.

The Germans, like other heathen races, believed in witchcraft and soothsaying, and hence female soothsayers were in great repute, and their usual mode of deciding on future events was by the casting of lots. As already said, a future life was a principal dogma of their religion, and they assigned for the sole abode of their heroes a place called the "Walhalla." They appear to have held annually three great religious assemblages, usually in groves or on elevated spots, at which public affairs were also discussed. They had neither temples nor allegorical representations of their deities, and little is known of their priesthood.

To return to the narrative. In the year 12 B.C., Drusus, son-in-law of Augustus Cæsar, invaded Germany, crossed the Rhine, and, after defeating the Sigambri, sailed with his legions down the river into the North Sea, and from thence to the mouth of the river Ems, where he built the castle of Aliso.

In the following year the Roman general gained a series of victories, and built upwards of fifty strongholds, amongst them Mayence and Bonn, and caused a dyke to be constructed from Neuwied, extending as far as the Danube, as a line of defence against the inroads of the Germans.

In the year 9 B.C., Drusus advanced victoriously as far as the Elbe, where a female soothsayer having warned him of his approaching end, he returned homewards.

His brother Tiberius succeeded him in the command, and very soon reduced several other tribes to submission. By degrees the territory between the Elbe and the Rhine became tributary to the Roman empire. The Marcomanni, however, under their leader Marbod, now advanced from their settlement on the Upper Rhine into Bohemia, which they overran. Tiberius soon determined to check the progress of this warlike tribe, and was about to attack them from two points when, in consequence of a general rising in Pannonia and Dalmatia, he came to terms with the German leader Marbod, to enable him to direct his whole army against the rebellious Pannonians.

About this period, Quintilius Varus, who was in command of the Roman army in Germany, had by his overbearing and tyrannical conduct so enraged the Germans that they resolved to throw off the Roman yoke, under the leadership of the world-wide celebrated Arminius or Hermann, a young man of twenty-five years, who, like Marbod, had resided in Rome, and there acquired a thorough knowledge of Roman tactics.

Hermann appears to have managed the preparations for the revolt with such skill and secrecy that, although Varus was warned by Segest, the patriot's father-in-law, of the intended insurrection and Hermann's complicity with it, yet the Roman procurator continued to regard the young German as one of his most devoted friends up to the very moment of the outbreak.

The signal of a general rising was given by some patriots residing on the Ems, who rose in arms. Varus, who was with his army near the Weser, marched at once, at the head of three legions, to quell the insurrection.

The Roman general, believing that he could rely on the loyalty of the tributary German people, took no precautions to prevent them participating in the revolt. The princes, under the plausible pretext of assisting Varus, had called out all their available fighting men, and allowed Varus to advance towards the Ems by way of the Teutoburg forest, where they surrounded the Roman army, which, after a

sanguinary struggle of three days and nights, was almost annihilated. Varus, seeing all was lost, fell by his own hand.

No sooner did the Germans gain this great victory, by which they might have recovered their independence, than petty jealousies arose between the various princes, who were especially envious of Hermann's renown.

Germanicus, son of Drusus, who, on the accession of Tiberius to the Roman purple, became generalissimo in Germany, took advantage of these dissensions to attack successively the Chatti and Marsi, whom he soon compelled to submit. Hermann's wife Thusnelda, daughter of Segest, the ally of the Romans, was made prisoner and conveyed to Rome, never to return to the arms of her beloved husband.

The infuriated warrior, thirsting to revenge the loss of his wife and the bleeding wounds of his fatherland, put himself at the head of his tribe, the Cherusci, defeated the Roman forces, and compelled them to retreat.

In the following campaign Germanicus advanced with fresh levies, and encountered Hermann at a place called Idistawiso (Minden), in the vicinity of the Weser. Hermann was defeated, wounded, and only escaped his pursuers by the swiftness of his horse. The serious losses of the Romans, however, compelled them to retreat. This encouraged all the Teutonic tribes to rise *en masse* against the hated foes. Another desperate battle ensued, but the

victory this time was undecisive, and Germanicus, having incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, was shortly after recalled.

The Germans, as usual, instead of profiting by their temporary success, again commenced quarrelling amongst themselves. The Semnones and Longobardi, who had revolted against Marbod, appealed to Hermann for assistance, which was readily granted, for the two rivals had now become deadly opponents. In a battle which ensued, Marbod was defeated and betook himself to the Romans, who allowed him to reside in Italy. Hermann did not long survive his triumph, for he was soon after assassinated by his own kinsmen.

Through the intestine struggles of the Germans, the Romans became paramount in Germany and divided the country into provinces. The native tribes who were not annexed to the Roman Empire appear to have kept up perpetual warfare with each other, and it was not until the year 70 that they made any effort to throw off the Roman yoke, under the leadership of Claudius Civilis. During the troublous period which followed the death of Nero, the revolt spread from tribe to tribe, mainly through the exhortations of a female soothsayer named Velleda, of the tribe of the Bructeri, who seems to have played the part of a Maid of Orleans. Vespasian, as soon as he found himself firmly seated on the throne of the Cæsars, despatched Petilius Cerealis with a large army against the revolted

tribes, whom he defeated at Augusta Trevirorum (Treves).

The struggle was continued by Civilis for some time with varying fortune; but the Roman general having secretly rendered Civilis suspected by his own men, the latter became unpopular amongst his followers, and was compelled to come to terms with the Romans.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 161-180, the Marcommi, the Quadi, and Hermunduri, who lived to the north of the Danube, determined to recover their independence and to invade Italy. Aurelius, however, succeeded, by the military skill of his generals, not only in checking their further progress, but also in driving them back to their original settlements.

During the gradual decadence of the Roman Empire the feeling of a common unity between the different Germanic tribes began to gain ground. About the year 215 several of the German tribes residing to the south of the Mayn united, under the name of Alemanni. In course of time, although engaged in constant hostilities with the Romans, this warlike people extended their sway as far as the Danube.

Nearly half a century afterwards we come across a new nation called the Franks, of whom there were two branches—the Salian, occupying that part of France to the north of the Loire; and the Ripuarian, who had settled on the Lower Rhine.

Both branches were ruled by hereditary kings, and gradually formed a confederation, in which they were joined by the Chatti, Bructeri, and Chamavi.

Another confederation of tribes appears to have been formed about the same period under the name of Saxons, who occupied the country between the Weser and the Elbe. Besides those already mentioned, there existed on the extreme eastern frontier of Germany, extending from the mouth of the Danube as far as the Baltic, another powerful race, the Goths, who in course of time separated, and were known as the Ostrogoths and Visigoths or West Goths. All these races were in constant conflict with the Roman Empire, which sought to avert the impending invasion of Italy by enlisting in their legions Germans, who soon became convinced that, in consequence of the utter demoralization of their conquerors, the latter could no longer maintain their supremacy over their German provinces.

The transfer of the capital of the empire from Rome to Constantinople, in the beginning of the fourth century, left Italy to the mercy of the Germanic races, who gradually availed themselves of the weakened state of the empire to recover their independence.

In the year 374 the Huns, under their Khan Balamir, migrated from Asia into Europe, crossing the Wolga, the Don, and the Dnieper. In their progress they conquered the Alans, a tribe of



German origin, and even the Goths were compelled to retire before this wave of immigration.

Theodosius the Great drove the Ostrogoths, or East Goths, across the Danube, where they were compelled to submit to the Huns, who by this time had overrun the greater part of Russia, Poland, and Hungary.

In the year 437 the Burgundians extended their territory as far as the Rhone and Saône; the Franks about the same time took possession of Gaul, and captured Cambray; and in 449 the Anglo-Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa, landed in England to assist the Britons against the Picts and Scots.

After the disruption of Attila's vast empire, the West Goths, or Visigoths, occupied Pannonia as far as Vienna; the Heruli took possession of Bohemia, Austria, and Bavaria, as far as the river Lech; and the Suevi and Alemanni settled down between the Lech and the Alps and the Moselle.

After the sacking of Rome by Genserich, leader of the Vandals, the imperial sceptre was wielded by the creatures of the various German leaders; amongst them was Odoacer, who took Augustulus prisoner and proclaimed himself King of Italy, but was in turn deposed by Theodoric in 490.

Towards the beginning of the sixth century we come across a tribe of the Germanic race hitherto unmentioned, viz., the Bayer, or Bavarians, who were probably descendants of the Heruli, Rugians,

and Turcilingians, who are said to have been a powerful, united, and independent people.

The earliest known inhabitants of Brandenburg appear to have been the descendants of the ancient Suevi, namely, the Semnones and Longobardi, who dwelt on both sides of the Elbe. They were a war-like and hardy race, and were distinguished by their hospitality and by their humanity to their captive slaves. Their religious rites resembled those of the neighbouring Germanic tribes. In course of time they were forced to migrate westward, through the advance of the Sclavonic or Slave race from the plains of Asia, between the fourth and sixth century.\*

At the commencement of the sixth century, this latter people occupied a great part of Central Europe, between the Baltic and the Black Sea. One tribe of them, which settled on the banks of the Elbe, was called "Wends."† The Wends were smaller in stature than the neighbouring nations, devoted to agricultural pursuits, and far more industrious and intelligent than the German races who had been forced by the migration of Asiatic tribes

\* The word "Slave" or "Sclave" is said to be akin to the Polish word "slowo," meaning language, which the Sclave race adopted to signify that they came from one common origin, as speaking the same tongue. The Teutons, having reduced the natives to a state of servitude, adopted the term "Sclave" to signify a serf.

† See Appendix B.

westward to take refuge in the mountains. They were divided into—

1. Obotrites, inhabiting the present duchies of Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

2. Haveller, in Brandenburg.

3. Sorbes, between the rivers Saale and Elbe.

4. Lusatians.

Their creed bore a marked resemblance to that of Zoroaster, and they possessed religious allegorical pictures. After their subjugation, they were characterized by great cunning and natural talent for intrigue, but, nevertheless, still retained their attributes of bravery and determination.

A certain number of towns still exist whose names have a Slave or Wendish origin. Moreover, remains have been discovered of the sites of ancient towns inhabited by the Wends, which prove that this great race had attained a higher state of civilization than the neighbouring tribes, as is also attested by the archaeological collections in the Berlin Museum. The form of government was democratic, and only in time of war did they elect one of their warriors as ruler, his authority lasting only during the continuance of hostilities.

In course of time, in consequence of constantly recurring wars, these temporary chiefs gradually established their supremacy, and became permanent rulers of the eastern portion of the Slavonic tribes.

In 810 the Wends, assisted by Gottfried, King of

Jutland, revolted and recovered their independence, but on the death of that prince they were again subdued.

In 789 Charlemagne crossed the Elbe to subdue the Wends of Brandenburg, having already overrun a large portion of the country occupied by the Slavonic race, and, having reduced them to submission, he imposed a tribute on the inhabitants, and appointed Trasiko King of the Obotrites, who had embraced Christianity.

On the 29th of January, 814, the greatest of German Emperors breathed his last at Aix-la-Chapelle. He was succeeded by his only legitimate son, Louis, surnamed the Pious, a weak and irresolute prince, and the vast empire became the prey of intestine divisions.

In 843 the sons of Louis distributed it amongst themselves, according to the following arrangement:—Lothair had for his share Italy, Burgundy, the Netherlands, and the left bank of the Rhine; Charles the Bold became King of the Franks; and Louis the German received for his share all the German territory to the west of the Rhine. In consequence of this division of the empire, the Wends recovered their independence, and extended their rule, on the left bank of the Elbe, from Thuringia to Lüneberg.

In 920 Henry the Fowler invaded the country of the Wends, and in 928 took the stronghold of Gana, now called Jalna, and Brannibor, afterwards

called Brandenburg, the chief town of the Haveller, the Wends after this being again forced to pay the same tribute as under Charlemagne.

The Emperor of Germany, Otho I., divided the country into Margravates, of which one, the Nordmark,\* was placed under the rule of Gero. This soldier had, by his tyrannical rule, excited a revolt of the people; and in 940, after several years of continued warfare, the town of Brandenburg fell into his hands, through the treachery of one of the native princes. Otho I. was at that time at war with the Hungarians in South Germany. In 955 the Wends again rebelled, under the command of their princes Nakko and Stoinif, and attempted to recover Brandenburg. They expelled Gero, sacked and burnt all the churches and religious establishments, and were victorious over a German army under the command of Hermann Billung of Saxony.

On returning from Hungary, Otho advanced with Gero against the Wends, and defeated them in a battle near the river Dosse.

Stoinif was taken prisoner and put to death, but Nakko escaped, and for a time successfully resisted the imperial arms, but was ultimately forced to yield. A few years later, in 965, Gero entered the monastery of Gernrode, which he is said to have founded.

\* The word signifies either a border land or a tract of uncultivated country. The Nordmark, or "Mark of North Saxony," was subsequently called the Altmark.

On his retirement, Dietrich of Ballenstadt succeeded to the Margravate of the Nordmark, and by his despotic conduct forced the Wends to an outbreak, which was followed, in 980, by a general insurrection of other tribes.

One of the Wendish princes, named Miztevoi, ruler of the Obotrites, had demanded in marriage a cousin of the Duke of Saxony, but Dietrich treated the proposal with scorn and prevented the union.

In revenge, Miztevoi put himself at the head of the insurgents, and a general rising ensued, ending in the defeat and flight of Dietrich, the devastation of the German settlements, the destruction of all traces of Christianity, and the return to heathenism.

Dietrich followed the example of his predecessor Gero, and retired into the monastery of Magdeburg, where he died in 985.

Lothair, a German military chief of one of the neighbouring districts, made several attempts to recover the territory of Dietrich, and in 994, by the treachery of the military commandant of the Wends, he succeeded in possessing himself of Brandenburg, which was, however, shortly after retaken by his opponents.

#### LOTHAIR, 985—1003.

Lothair was not long, however, in recovering his lost authority over the Wends, and so great was his influence among the German princes, that he was able to secure the election of Henry of Bavaria to

the imperial crown, in opposition to his rival Eckart, Landgrave of Meissen and Thuringia, and Hermann, Duke of Suabia.

The Emperor, in recognition of Lothair's support, not only confirmed his title, but also guaranteed it to his son Werner.

#### WERNER, 1003—1009.

By the treaty of Werben, a small town near Magdeburg, in 1003, the Wends acknowledged the supremacy of Henry II. Shortly after Werner's accession to his Margravate, he strongly protested against the rich endowments which the Emperor Henry was constantly bestowing on the ecclesiastics in his territory. This naturally excited the anger of the Emperor, and in an interview which Werner had with a certain Count Dedo, concerning a complaint which the latter had made against him, Werner in a fit of anger drew his sword and killed him on the spot, an act for which he was declared under the ban by the Emperor, and his title forfeited.

It has been stated that Werner was in negotiation with the Poles and Wends in a conspiracy against the Emperor, but this does not seem to have been really proved. He met with his death in the year 1014, in attempting to carry off by force a rich heiress in Thuringia.

#### BERNARD I., 1009—1019.

Bernard, who succeeded Werner, was constantly in

dispute with the ecclesiastics, whose power was ever on the increase through the favour of the Emperor Henry; and in a controversy which he had with the Archbishop of Magdeburg, concerning certain temporal rights, he made such an obstinate resistance that the prelate excommunicated him.

History has handed down little or nothing concerning the rule of Bernard, who was succeeded by

#### BERNARD II., 1019—1044,

Bernard, on assuming the reins of government, assisted the Emperor Conrad in quelling an insurrection of the Wends, and also in his wars against Duke Miecislaus of Poland, who had advanced victoriously as far as the Elbe, when his career was checked by the treachery of his brother, who offered to betray him to the Emperor, a fate which he avoided by taking refuge at the Court of Ulrich, Duke of Bohemia. When subsequently Miecislaus recovered his power by the death of his brother, whose proposal the Emperor had rejected with disdain, he showed his gratitude by a voluntary and unconditional submission to the imperial authority. On Bernard's death in 1044 he was succeeded by his second son,

#### WILLIAM, 1044—1056.

This Margrave enjoyed the special favour of the Emperor Henry III. The greater part of his reign was occupied in checking the insubordinate spirit



of the Wends, which eventually culminated in a general rising. In a battle which took place between the Margrave and the insurgents at the castle of Pritzlava, near Werben on the Havel, he was totally defeated and lost his life, and, being childless, was succeeded by Udo, a near relative of the Emperor. His brother Otho, the son of a Slave mother, was at the time absent from Germany.

#### UDO I., 1056-57.

Udo I. possessed all the requisite qualities for ruling the turbulent Wends, but unfortunately he died three months after his accession, and was succeeded by his son.

#### UDO II., 1057—1083.

Otho, the half-brother of William, opposed the accession of Udo, but shortly after lost his life in a duel. During the reign of Udo II., disturbances broke out in the kingdom of the Obotrites, which continued for many years.

Udo was unable to take any part in this struggle, as he was engaged in a war with the Emperor Henry IV. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Unstrut, and remained in captivity for seven years till his release in 1082, and died shortly after.

#### HENRY I., 1083—1087.

Henry I. succeeded Udo II., and at his death his brother Udo became Margrave, who was fortunately able to maintain neutrality between

the opposing parties in Germany. He appears to have treated his Wendish subjects with great moderation, which no doubt prevented them from taking part in the struggle which was then going on in the kingdom of the Obotrites. Udo III. died in 1106, and was succeeded by his son.

#### HENRY II., 1106—1128.

Udo III. left a young son Henry, as yet in his minority, whose uncle Rudolf was declared guardian and regent. Rudolf, who was an ambitious and quarrelsome man, joined the Saxons in their revolt against the Emperor for having appropriated the estates of the Count of Weimar, a prince who had died without issue, hoping by this to obtain absolute power and to increase the Margravate.

In 1114 Rudolf and his ally Lothair were defeated by Henry and forced to submit; but in the following year, 1115, Henry was in turn repulsed at the battle of Welfesholz, and was forced to withdraw from Saxony, Lothair and Rudolf eventually compelling the Emperor to reguarantee to them their respective territories.

On the death of Rudolf, who had forcibly held the reins of government, his nephew Henry become sole Margrave and ruled until 1128, when he died without issue, his successor being the son of Rudolf,

#### UDO IV., 1128—1130.

This prince, like his father, was restless and am-

bitious. The Emperor Lothair having imprisoned his brother-in-law, Count Hermann of Winzenburg, Udo took up arms in the latter's favour, but was defeated and killed at the battle of Aschersleben in 1130, by the imperial forces, under Albert the "Bear."

Udo IV. left two brothers, of whom one was in orders; the other, whom the Emperor believed to be secretly opposed to him, was on that account excluded from the succession, and the Margravate was given to Conrad, son of Hilperic von Plötzkau, one of the most celebrated knights in Saxony.

Shortly after his assumption of power he accompanied the Emperor Lothair to Italy in support of the cause of Pope Innocent II. against his rival, Anaclete II. Conrad was killed by an arrow at the siege of Monza in 1132.

## CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1133—1308.

Albert the "Bear" becomes Margrave of the Nordmark (1133): Annexes Brandenburg; Death of Albert (1170)—Otho I. (1170—1184): Internal Condition of Brandenburg; Campaign of Barbarossa in Italy—Otho II. (1184—1204): Albert II. (1205—1220): Sides with Philip of Suabia—Otho III. (1220—1268): Henry von Meissen invades the Mittelmark; Otho taken Prisoner; Otho ransomed and renews Hostilities; Assists the Teutonic Knights; Division of Brandenburg; The Stendal and Salzwedel Families—Otho IV. (1280—1308)—Albert III. (1272—1301): His Court Life; Purchases Soldin—Hermann the Long (1301—1308): Assumes the Title "Regent of Silesia"; Religious Endowments; Purchases Lower Lusatia; Incorporation of Berlin and Kölln; Campaign in Mecklenburg; Death of Hermann (1308).

ALBERT THE "BEAR" was the son of Otho the Rich, Count of Ballenstadt, and the Saxon princess Elike. On the accession of Lothair to the throne in 1125, Albert laid claim to the duchy of Saxony, which was, however, given by the Emperor to Henry the Proud. Albert then forcibly took possession of a

part of the duchy, for which he was punished by being deprived of Lusatia, which had been bestowed on him in 1123. On being reconciled to the Emperor, he accompanied him to Italy, when in the year 1133, in recognition of his military services, and as a set off for the loss of Lusatia, he was appointed Margrave of the Nordmark, which was vacant by the death of Conrad von Plötzkau. On Conrad III. becoming Emperor, one of his first objects was to weaken the power of Saxony, to effect which he enacted that no prince of Germany could rule over two duchies. Duke Henry refusing to resign Saxony, he was placed under the imperial ban; that province was given to Albert the "Bear," and Bavaria to Leopold V. of Austria.

Albert the "Bear" had not long taken possession of Saxony when he was expelled by Henry, who died shortly after, in 1139, and his young son was proclaimed his successor by the nobles. In attempting to regain Saxony, Albert not only lost the Nordmark, but also all his estates; but at the Reichstag at Frankfort in 1142 he was formally reinvested with the Margravate of the Nordmark and Lusatia, which was declared to be no longer in any way connected with the duchy of Saxony. Albert having, either by force or intrigue, made Pribislaus of the Wends his vassal, on the death of that prince, his successor Jaczko attempted to throw off the yoke, but was defeated by the Margrave, who then annexed Brandenburg to the Nordmark. Albert now

adopted Charlemagne's policy of conversion, forcibly compelling his new subjects to become Christians. The state of Brandenburg being at this period anything but flourishing, the constant wars and inroads of the Germans having reduced the people to a deplorable condition, a considerable number of German colonists were introduced from the Rhine provinces to cultivate the land and to overawe the Wends. Albert, by these means, greatly improved the state of the country and broke the spirit of independence which had characterized the people.

In 1158 the Margrave made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a thank-offering for the acquisition of Brandenburg. On his return he was accompanied by several Knights of St. John, for whom he built residences, and endowed these establishments with a large part of the domains of the defeated Wends.

The talents of these military and priestly adventurers were of great service to Albert, enabling him as they did to render himself all supreme in his newly acquired territories. This sagacious but unprincipled ruler died in 1170.

#### OTHO I., 1170—1184.

Albert was succeeded by his son Otho, who took an active part in the war waged by Frederick Barbarossa in Italy. At the death of Pope Victor, Frederick refused to acknowledge the new Pope Alexander III. Accordingly the latter withdrew

to Genoa and thence to France, where he succeeded in forming a league against the Emperor, being actively supported by the republics of Genoa and Venice, which regarded with jealousy and fear the supremacy of Barbarossa in Italy.

At first Frederick was disposed to come to terms of reconciliation, but being joined by Henry III. of England, who also had some disputes with the Pontiff, he recognized the rival Pope Pascal III. In 1167 the Emperor Frederick had undertaken an expedition into Italy, the principal cities of which had formed themselves into a league. Unfortunately, however, a most violent pestilence broke out, which carried off a great part of his army and compelled him to retreat with the remainder precipitately beyond the Alps. At Susa the Emperor nearly fell into the hands of the Italians, and only escaped capture through the devotion of one of his knights named Hermann von Siebeneichen, who placed himself in his master's bed and was seized in his stead.

In 1174 Frederick Barbarossa crossed the Alps again with a large army. He caused Susa to be razed to the ground, and captured several important fortresses. Meanwhile, the Lombards had assembled an immense army, determined to meet the Emperor in the open field. As Frederick was awaiting fresh reinforcements from Germany, he determined to remain for a time on the defensive; but the Italians, conscious of their numerical superiority, forced an engagement

at Legnano, where his small army was almost overwhelmed, the Emperor himself narrowly escaping capture.

Frederick now resorted to diplomacy, and opened secret negotiations with the Pope, who, after some hesitation, agreed to a peace, which was concluded in 1177. The Margrave Otho, who had accompanied Frederick Barbarossa in his fifth campaign in Italy, was one of the principal advisers of that monarch, and from his great capacity and energy he was appointed mediator between the latter and the Pontiff. His mediation resulted in the famous treaty of reconciliation at Venice, 1177, which enabled Frederick to return to Germany and to call to account Henry the Lion. As a mark of imperial favour, Otho received the duchy of Pomerania and the rank of Grand Chamberlain, which was made hereditary in his family. Under his rule Brandenburg entered on a period of prosperity, and through the introduction of German emigrants the Wends were gradually naturalized. Amongst the various religious endowments which he founded was the Cistercian monastery of Lehnin, in which many of the Ascanian family were afterwards buried. Otho died in the year 1184, leaving three sons by his marriage with Judith, daughter of Boleslaus of Poland.

#### OTHO II., 1184—1204.

After the death of Otho I., his dominions were ruled over by his three sons, the eldest of whom,



however, Otho, exercised sovereign authority. He was a man of considerable ability and patron of the fine arts, but, like most princes of the age, he allowed himself to be unduly influenced by the priests.

In a dispute between Waldemar, Bishop of Sleswig, and King Canute of Denmark, Otho sided with the former, and displayed considerable bravery in repelling the attacks of the Danes on his territory. To atone for some misdeeds, he promised the Emperor and the Holy See, in the year 1195, to take part in a crusade, but, repenting of his vow, he requested the Pope to absolve him from it. This the Pontiff would only accede to on condition that the Margrave made over to the archbishopric of Magdeburg the Altmarch, with the earldoms belonging to it, and a part of the Middle Mark.

This Otho did, with the proviso that he should be able to reclaim it within the space of a year. On the death of the Emperor Henry VI., Otho at first espoused the cause of Henry's young son, but, finding there was no chance of his succeeding to the throne of his father, he became a partisan of Philip of Suabia, young Frederick's uncle.

In all the acts of the Margrave, we find him attempting to make the Church subservient to his ambitious projects. He appears to have taken a very prominent part in the affairs of the empire until his death, which took place in 1204.

Otho was succeeded by his younger brother,

ALBERT II., 1204—1220,

a man of no ordinary intelligence and capacity. Like his predecessor, he believed that the interest of his state required a close alliance with Philip of Suabia, but on the murder of that sovereign, in the year 1208, at the castle of Altenburg, near Bamberg, by Otho von Wittelsbach, the Margrave offered his support to the Emperor Otho IV.

During the struggle which ensued between the Emperor and the Pope, on account of the former's religious policy, the Margrave rendered himself conspicuous by the determined attitude he assumed towards the many adversaries of the Emperor. In recognition of these services, the Emperor Otho solemnly acknowledged the Margrave's feudal rights over Pomerania, and on Frederick's coronation, in 1215, these rights were again confirmed by him.

At the death of Albert, in 1220, John and Otho, his two sons by Matilda, daughter of Conrad of Lusatia and Meissen, were both minors, and his widow and Henry von Anhalt became joint regents.

Shortly after the regents' accession to power, they became entangled in a petty war with the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and being defeated at the battle of Plaue, near the river Havel, were compelled to take refuge in their strongholds of Brandenburg and Spandau. As a set-off against

this humiliation, the regents demanded for Otho the hand of Beatrice, daughter of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia. The marriage took place in the year 1231, the bride receiving as dowry the Lusatian towns Bautzen, Görlitz, Lanbar, and Löbeu. This alliance was followed by a ratification by the Emperor of all the sovereign and feudal rights enjoyed by the former Margraves, and from this period Otho and John became joint rulers of Brandenburg.

In the year 1238 Henry von Meissen attempted to obtain forcible possession of the Lusatian towns Köpenick and Mitterwalde. To prevent this, they were placed under the protection of Willibrand, Archbishop of Magdeburg, the two Margraves of Brandenburg being at that period engaged in a dispute with Bishop Ludolf of Halberstadt, concerning their right to inherit the fief of the Count of Hamersleben. The archbishop undertook the charge, claiming from the Margrave certain towns in return for his services. On the Margrave's refusing, the prelate surrendered the towns of Köpenick and Mitterwalde to Henry von Meissen, who immediately invaded the Middle Mark,\* and Bishop Willibrand thereupon uniting his forces with

\* The Middle Mark (Mittelmark) formed a portion of the Electorate of Brandenburg on the right side of the Elbe, and was bounded by the Duchies of Magdeburg and Mecklenburg, by the Neumark and Priegnitz, and in the fifteenth century was absorbed into the Neumark.

those of Ludolf, Bishop of Halberstadt, conjointly besieged Hamersleben. Otho III. of Brandenburg, in attempting to raise the siege, being defeated and taken prisoner, was forced to pay as ransom the sum of 1,600 marks, together with the cession of the castle of Alvensleben.

The two Margraves now marched against Henry von Meissen; the bishops on their part invading and devastating the Altmark. Although greatly inferior to their opponents as regards numbers, the Margraves did not hesitate to divide their army. John, the younger, advanced against the episcopal forces, which he totally defeated at Gladigau, on the left bank of the Biese, a tributary of the Elbe, in the year 1240.

Ludolf was taken prisoner, and had to obtain his liberty by the restoration of the 1,600 marks and the castle of Alvensleben. Otho was also victorious at Mittenwalde over his antagonist, Henry von Meissen, who was forced to disgorge all the territory that he had seized.

In 1241 a renewal of hostilities by the bishops ended in a like failure, and resulted in the acquisition of several fiefs by Brandenburg.

In 1244 the Pomeranians, under Barnim, one of their principal dukes, attempted to assert their independence, but were defeated by the Margraves, and Barnim appears to have been forced to give his daughter Hedwig to John I., with a very considerable dowry, consisting of several districts in

Pomerania. The successes of the Margraves now enabled them to play a prominent *rôle* in the affairs of the empire.

On Frederick II. being excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV., at Lyon, for having attempted to curtail the power of the Church, the Margraves sided with the Papal party, and on Count William of Holland being elected the rival Emperor, they had received the right of reversion to the duchy of Saxony (in case of failure of issue), together with the fief of Zerbst.

From 1251 to 1255 the Margraves were the allies of the 'Teutonic Order' in the war against the heathen Prussians. On the death of Count William of Holland, in his campaign in 1256 against the Frisians, the Margraves were undoubtedly regarded as two of the most astute and capable princes in Germany, a reputation which resulted in the imperial crown being offered to the Margrave Otho in the year 1256. That prince was, however, too well aware of the jealousies which existed amongst the German princes to doubt that, should he accept it, fresh rivals would soon spring up, and he might be placed in a perilous position; he therefore refused the proffered dignity.

The two Margraves, who had each a numerous family, determined if possible to prevent any disputes breaking out amongst their children on their demise, and before their death divided their territory into two separate margravates, John taking

Stendal (which he made his capital), together with the towns of Tangermünde, Werben, Sandou, Osterburg, Gransee, Havelburg, Wolmerstädt, Königsberg, Kremmen, with a portion of Upper Lusatia; whilst Otho's portion included Salzwedel (the capital), the towns of Plauen, Arneburg, Jericho, Berlin, Spandau, Soldin, Strausberg, Rauen, Frankfort, and the remaining part of Lusatia. Up to their death, 1266-67, the two Margraves were unremitting in their endeavours to improve the condition of all classes, particularly in the Neumark,\* and by wisely abstaining from taking any part in the manifold disputes of their neighbours, they were enabled to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of the prosperity of the country.

John I. was succeeded by his three sons, John II., Otho IV., and Conrad I., who ruled jointly. His two youngest sons, Eric and Johann, became respectively Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bishop of Havelburg. A sixth son, named Henry Lackland, had forfeited his right of inheritance on account of a morganatic marriage.

Otho III. was succeeded by his four sons, John III., surnamed the Boaster; Otho V., surnamed the Long; Otho VI., surnamed the Short; and Albert III. Extraordinary as it may seem, the sons of the

\* The Neumark consisted of a long but narrow strip of territory extending as far as Poland, and bounded by Pomerania, Silesia, and Lower Lusatia.

two Margraves remained a united family, although much weakened by the division of Brandenburg.

Otho IV. appears to have been the ruling spirit amongst them. John III., of the Salzwedel, died in 1268, a year after his father, and Otho V., of the Salzwedel family, became guardian of his two younger brothers, Otho VI. and Albert III. Albert attained his majority and became joint regent in 1272, and Otho VI. in 1280.

About the year 1268 the Margraves were embroiled in hostilities with Poland and Mestwin, Duke of Pomerellen, the war only ending in 1273, when Pomerellen was declared a fief of the Brandenburg family, and the towns of Stolpe and Schlawe were ceded to the Margraves.

In the dispute between the Emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg and Ottocar, King of Bohemia, on account of the Emperor refusing to invest that monarch with the duchies of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, a desperate struggle ensued, which ended in the death of Ottocar at the battle of the Marchfeld. Otho, Margrave of Brandenburg, then became mediator between the Emperor and Ottocar's young son Wenceslaus, for whom, by his powerful intercession, he succeeded in obtaining Bohemia and Moravia, being himself appointed guardian of the youthful king.

In 1277, on the death of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Margraves proposed their brother Eric as candidate, but were opposed by the

Chapter, who elected Count Busso von Querfurt. A compromise was effected, and the Magdeburgers now acknowledged Count Günther von Schwalenburg as primate.

Otho IV. now advanced with an army on Magdeburg, but was defeated and made prisoner by Count Günther. The Margrave was conveyed to Magdeburg and confined in a wooden cage, ultimately obtaining his liberty, however, on the payment of a bribe of 4,000 marks. Count Günther, disgusted at the venality of his clergy and councillors, resigned. On the retirement of Günther von Schwalenburg, the Chapter proceeded to elect Count Bernhard von Wölpe to the vacant bishopric. The Margraves of Brandenburg thereupon again declared war against Magdeburg. During the siege of Stassfurt, the Margrave Otho IV. was struck by an arrow, the point of which remained in his head for many years after. Hostilities were protracted till 1281, when a compromise was effected. Both parties agreed to return their respective conquests, and the Chapter of Magdeburg undertook to elect Eric of Brandenburg on the next vacancy. Bishop Bernhard died in the following year, 1282, and Erich was accordingly elected to the vacant see.

At first the new archbishop was very unpopular amongst the Magdeburgers, but by his prudence and moderation he soon conciliated them, and acquired their esteem. John II., one of the brothers, died in the course of the same year.



Meanwhile Otho V., who was acting as guardian to the young Bohemian prince Wenceslaus, son of King Ottocar, found himself opposed by the Queen-mother Kunigunde, a woman of a strong mind and of an ambitious and intriguing disposition, and who was seeking to obtain an undue ascendancy over her young son, and thus virtually to retain the government in her own hands. The Margrave Otho, fearing that the influence and example of the mother would be pernicious to his ward, succeeded in obtaining possession of the person of young Wenceslaus, and had him conveyed to Zittau, in Lusatia, where he was educated under his supervision. The Queen-dowager now urged the Bohemian nobles to complain to the Emperor Rudolf, and to represent to him that it was evidently Otho's intention to put aside the prince and seize the reins of government.

The Emperor, not wishing a further increase of power on the part of the Askanian family, expressed his dissatisfaction with Otho, who thereupon, in disgust at the conduct of the Bohemians, resigned his guardianship.

The Margrave John II. died in 1282, and the two surviving Margraves, Otho and Conrad, purchased the Mark of Landsberg from Albert of Meissen and Thuringia in 1191. This transaction was ratified by the Emperor Adolf of Nassau, who succeeded Rudolf of Hapsburg, and who made the Margrave Otho IV. military commandant in Thu-

ringia and peace arbitrator in Lower Saxony. But the latter soon perceived his mistake in siding with Adolf, and, finding that he was constantly losing ground, joined the other imperial princes in demanding the Emperor's deposition, and the election of Albert of Austria, son of Rudolf.

In the battle of Gellheim, Adolf, having lost his helmet in the engagement, rushed with a chosen body of knights into the midst of his opponents, and was killed by his rival Albert in a hand-to-hand encounter.

Otho V. of Brandenburg died in the course of the year 1297, leaving a son Hermann, surnamed the Long. Of the family of Stendal the two surviving brothers ruled jointly until 1304, when Conrad I. died, and Otho IV., the only surviving representative of the dynasty, ruled absolutely until his death in 1308.

During the latter part of his reign the lay portion of his subjects demanded that the clergy should bear an equal portion of the burden of taxation, for up to this time they had been free from all imposts.

Otho, with considerable difficulty, forced the ecclesiastics to pay the taxes, disregarding the excommunication pronounced against him by Pope Boniface VIII., who was afterwards compelled to withdraw it.

Towards the end of his rule, Otho became entangled in a dispute with the Emperor Albert I.

concerning Meissen, given in security to Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, who in his turn had pledged it to the Margrave of Brandenburg.

The Emperor reclaimed Meissen, which claim the Margrave had the courage to resist, and was put under the imperial ban. The dispute lasted until the death of the King of Bohemia, whose successor brought about a compromise between the Emperor and the Margrave.

Otho died in 1308, regretted by his subjects. As regards talent and statesmanship he was only surpassed by his nephew Waldemar the Great, of whom we shall speak presently.

The Salzwedel line was now represented by the Margraves Albert III. and Otho VI. Of the latter very little is known, but the former seems to have directed the affairs of the Margravate until his death in 1301.

The Margrave Albert who became joint regent in 1272, married Matilda, the sister of Eric, King of Denmark, and had by her four children—two sons, Otho and Henning, and two daughters, Marguerite and Beatrice.

Albert was an ambitious and warlike prince. In 1272 he conquered the province of Stargard in Pomerania. In 1279 he assisted the Bishop of Hildesheim in a campaign against Albert, Duke of Brunswick. He also took part in a war between King Adolphus and Thuringia. In 1280 he again invaded the district of Stargard. His military exploits were

highly extolled by the Minnesänger or Troubadours. A great patron of the fine arts, he was also passionately fond of poetry and music, and entertained at his Court a great number of poets and minstrels, who showed their gratitude by celebrating his achievements in verse.

Albert was also strongly attached to the Church, and was particularly partial to ecclesiastics. Acting on the advice of his favourites, he founded and endowed the Cistercian monastery of Wantzke in Stargard. Towards the latter part of his life he was surrounded by priests and gave himself up to religious exercises, eventually assuming the garb of the Dominican monks, and devoting a great portion of his time to fasting and penance.

In 1298 we find that Albert purchased Soldin from the Knight Hermann von Warboich for 630 pounds of Brandenburg money. About the same time his daughter Margaret, widow of Duke Przemislaus of Poland, was betrothed to Prince Niklot of Rostock in the presence of the leading German princes.

In 1298 Albert founded a cathedral and chapter in Soldin, and towards the autumn of that year the church and the altar were consecrated by Bishop John of Havelburg. In the altar were placed relics of St. Bernard and of the 11,000 Virgins.

In 1299 Albert visited Strausberg, and presented the Dominican monks, whom he held in great favour, with the estate and buildings adjoining the monastery, with the one proviso that they should

on no account resell it to the citizens. In the course of the same year Albert founded another religious establishment in connexion with the Cistercian Order, to which he gave the name of Himmelstatt. As an endowment he presented the town of Kladoros, together with thirteen adjoining villages, with all the revenues arising from the lakes and forests.

During this year Albert lost his two sons and also his wife, who was buried in the cloister of Strausberg. After her death Albert never quitted his favourite residence at Eberswald.

During the latter part of the year 1300 he was seized by illness, and, feeling his end approaching, sent for his nephew, the Margrave Hermann, whom he made the heir to his title and estates. He breathed his last shortly after, either at the end of the year 1300 or early in the year 1301. The precise date is not known. It is, however, certain that he was interred in the church of Strausberg by the side of his wife.

The Margrave Hermann now succeeded his uncle Albert III., although Otho VI. did not die until 1303. He was at once involved in a dispute with Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, who had married Beatrice, the daughter of the Margrave Albert, and had received as dowry the province of Stargard, undertaking to pay in return the sum of 3,000 silver marks. The payment had been deferred from time to time, and on Albert's death was still owing, and

much hostility of feeling was excited by the Margrave pressing for the money. About the same time his brother-in-law Bolco, Duke of Sweednitz and Fürstenberg, died, leaving two sons under age, the guardianship of whom was undertaken by the Margrave, who now styled himself Regent of Silesia.

In 1302 the wife of Hermann gave birth to a son and heir, an event which was celebrated with great rejoicings. The young prince received the name of Johann.

In the course of the year 1302 the Princess Marguerite, widow of Duke Przemislaus, and who had been betrothed to Niklot of Rostock, was married to Duke Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg. Like his uncle Albert, the Margrave Hermann seems to have devoted a great deal of his time and attention to acts of piety and charity, for we find that at the end of the year 1302 he endowed several religious establishments, and bestowed large gifts on the hospitals for the maintenance and support of the sick.

In November, 1303, the Margrave was residing at Spandau, where he issued a decree granting to the town of Gorlitz the privileges known as the "Magdeburg Right." This document is of no little interest and importance, as we find therein that Hermann styles himself "Margrave of Brandenburg and Lusatia," from which we infer that he had already entered into negotiations for the acquisition of this important territory.

In 1304 the misunderstanding between the Margrave and Count Henry of Mecklenburg respecting the payment of the 3,000 marks, to which we have already referred, began to assume a more serious aspect. Though the Margrave became more and more urgent for the payment of the debt, Count Henry was as unwilling as ever to meet his obligations, and entered into an alliance with the Counts of Schwerin and Boitzenburg and the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, having made up his mind to resist the Margrave's claim, if necessary, by force of arms.

Ultimately both parties, fearing to risk open hostilities, came to the following compromise, by which it was agreed that Count Henry should pay to the Margrave the sum of 5,000 marks silver, and on the other hand the latter renounced all claim to the district of Stargard in favour of the Count, reserving only the right of coinage and the working of iron.

In July of 1304 Hermann purchased from the Margrave Diezmann Lower Lusatia and the territory lying between the Spree and the Elster for 6,000 marks. In the summer of this same year he also acquired possession of the estates of the Margrave Otho the Long, who died without heir.

In 1305 Hermann formed an alliance with the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Princes of Mecklenburg against the King of Denmark. He also allied himself with King Wenceslaus of Bohemia,

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and sent a contingent to assist that monarch in his war with the Emperor.

It is probable that the Margrave Hermann himself took part in hostilities, for we find that in the early part of the year he was stationed with his army at Oschatz in Meissen, of which he appears to have taken possession.

In March, 1305, Hermann had already returned to Spandau, where he granted the patronage of the church of St. Katharine to the Cathedral Chapter of Brandenburg. On this occasion several of his chief court officials were present and signed as witnesses, among whom were the chief notary and an officer styled in the document "coquinarius," or head cook.

In August of the same year peace was concluded between the Emperor and Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, and in consequence the opponents of the former monarch, including the Margrave Hermann, were released from a sentence of outlawry which had been passed upon them.

It was about this time that King Wenceslaus, not being able to raise the sum of 50,000 marks to redeem the territory which had been mortgaged to the Margrave of Brandenburg, proposed, in lieu of the repayment, to renounce all his rights over Pomerania. This offer was, however, not considered by the Margrave a fair equivalent, and was refused.

During the year 1306 Hermann visited different cities in his dominions, and in the summer took part



in a war in Pomerania, between the rivals Wladislaus Loktek and Peter von Neuenburg, who were struggling for supremacy.

Towards the end of the year 1306, the Margrave appears to have entered into negotiations with his cousins for the acquisition of that portion of the Altmark which hitherto belonged to the Stendal family, for we find that, in November of this year, he published a document, offering to confirm all the rights and privileges of the town of Stendal, should it be transferred to him by his cousins.

Hermann, it would seem, was very liberal to the occupiers of his estates, and had guaranteed them various immunities. He also protected the poorer vassals from the exactions and oppressions of their superiors, as he severely reprimanded several land-owners against whom complaints had been made of oppressing their dependents.

In the year 1307 a very important municipal change was made in Berlin. Hitherto the two towns of Berlin and Kölln, although only separated from one another by the Spree, were totally distinct corporations, having different judges, magistrates, and courts of justice. The advisability of placing the two townships under one jurisdiction had long been discussed. Many objections and difficulties presented themselves, but these were at last overcome; and in the course of the year 1307 Berlin and Kölln became incorporated, having the same town councillors and magistrates in common. At

the head of the council were two aldermen, but the title of burgomaster was not adopted until nearly a century later.

In 1308 the Margrave Hermann, together with the Margraves Otho and Waldemar, entered into an alliance with Count Nicolaus of Schwerin against the intriguing Nicolaus of Werle, a Mecklenburg count who had considerably increased his domains, and was in expectation of also inheriting the estates of Count Henry of Mecklenburg. The ambition of Nicolaus excited the envy and jealousy of his neighbours, more especially of Count Nicolaus of Boitzenburg, who induced Prince Witzlaus of Rügen to join him in an expedition against the Count of Werle.

In a battle fought at Ramelsdorf the allied forces of Nicolaus and Witzlaus were defeated, and Count Nicolaus thereupon sought the assistance of the Margraves of Brandenburg, Otho, Waldemar, and Hermann, in return for their support offering to concede to them as a fief a large portion of Schwerin. The Margraves accepted the offer, and, uniting their forces with the remnant of the army of Count Nicolaus, advanced into Mecklenburg with 4,000 cavalry and a large body of infantry, including bowmen and artillerists. Having penetrated as far as Turne, they captured, after a short siege, the fortified castle of Eldenburg, and began to strengthen the fortifications as a basis of offensive operations. An engagement shortly took place, in which Count Nicolaus of Wittenburg was taken prisoner.

Before the end of the year 1307, another event created a great sensation throughout Germany, namely, the assassination of the Margrave Diezmänn of Thuringia, who, as we have before seen, had sold the territory of Lusatia to the Margraves of Brandenburg.

The assassin, who was captured, could not be induced, even by torture, to divulge his instigators, but suspicion points to Count Philip of Nassau, who had a private feud with the Margrave Diezmänn.

Hermann continued engaged, together with his cousins, in military operations, and in refortifying the castle of Eldenburg; but he did not live to see the conclusion of the war, for in the month of January, 1308, he was taken suddenly ill, dying very shortly after.

The death of the Margrave caused great grief throughout his dominions, universally respected as he was for his high character and admired for his talents. Moreover, his sudden death threatened to give rise to serious complications and embarrassments, as his only son Johann was a boy of five years of age. His wife, Anna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Albert, by whom he had five children, survived him.

## CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1308—1320.

Waldemar the Great (1308—1319)—Waldemar declares himself Guardian of the Margrave Johann, son of Hermann the Long—Death of Otho IV. (1308)—Betrothal of Waldemar to Agnes, Sister of the young Margrave Johann—Transfer of Pomerania to the Teutonic Knights (1309)—Grand *Fête* near Rostock—Waldemar knighted by King Eric of Denmark (1311)—Siege of Rostock by the Allies (1312)—Waldemar severs Alliance with Eric—Reconciliation (1314)—Death of the Emperor Henry VII. (1313)—Candidates for the Imperial Sceptre—Coalition against Waldemar—Defeat of the Margrave near Strelitz (1316)—Siege of Stralsund—Negotiations for Peace—Treaty of Templin (1317)—Death of the Margrave Johann—Waldemar adopts the Son of Henry the Landless—Death of Waldemar (1319)—Death of Henry III. (1320)—Condition of Brandenburg.

ACCORDING to the law almost universal in Germany at this period, the guardianship of minors devolved upon the brothers or relatives on the father's side, and on the death of the Margrave Hermann, either the Margrave Otho or Waldemar, in the ordinary course, should have undertaken the guardianship of their young relative.

But this had been anticipated by the Margrave Hermann, who, not having been on the best terms with his cousins, had made an unusual testamentary arrangement, entrusting the care of his son to four of his confidential and trusty advisers. The regency of the territory of Lusatia was entrusted to three other knights.

This arrangement on the part of the Margrave implied want of confidence and good-will towards his cousins, who were, according to strict law, the rightful guardians. On hearing of the appointment of a regency, the Margrave Otho, who was still in Mecklenburg engaged in the war, was not a little annoyed, and began to take measures to get the young Margrave into his hands. With this object in view, he entered into an understanding with Waldemar, who had also a personal interest in the matter.

For some time previous a marriage had been projected between Waldemar and his relative Agnes, sister of the young Margrave Johann, by the Margravine Anna, the girl's mother. Waldemar was most anxious for the marriage, which would unite the two rival families, and at the same time was equally desirous that the regency should be entrusted to his brother Otho, in contravention of the Margrave's testamentary arrangement. He therefore entered eagerly into Otho's ambitious designs, and succeeded in persuading the Margravine to completely set aside the dispositions

of the will, and to entrust the young Johann to the care and tutelage of either Otho or himself.

The regents appointed by the late Margrave, fearing that their young ward would not be safe in the hands of these ambitious and intriguing self-appointed guardians, strongly protested against such proceedings, and conceived the design of seizing the person of the young Margrave by force.

To legalize their project, they appealed to the Margravine, who, after much hesitation, gave her consent. The project was kept strictly secret. Having made the necessary preparations, the regents employed agents at the Court of Waldemar to secure the person of the youthful Prince and to carry him off. This was skilfully carried out, and the subject of dispute accordingly found himself once more in the care of his old guardians, in the castle of Spandau. The regents garrisoned the town, and took the necessary precautions for the safe keeping of their ward.

In the meanwhile Waldemar proceeded to the residence of the Margravine, to complain of the forcible abduction of the Prince. That lady protesting that her counsel had not been asked, and denying any complicity in the proceedings of the regents, Waldemar resolved to recover the person of Johann without further delay, and advancing on Spandau with a strong force, he surprised the castle and seized the young Margrave, whom he conveyed back to his Court. The regents, fearing

the vengeance of Waldemar, thought it prudent to betake themselves to the Court of Henry, Count of Mecklenburg. Waldemar now publicly declared himself the guardian, and signed himself as such in all public documents, Otho having probably renounced his claims to the guardianship. No further mention is made of him until his death, in 1308.

In May of the same year the Emperor Albert was assassinated, at Windisch, by his nephew, Duke John of Suabia, and a host of competitors appeared for the imperial sceptre.

The Margrave Waldemar cherished an ambition in this direction, but, finding he had little chance, retired from the competition. Of his rivals, the most influential were Frederick, surnamed the Handsome, Louis of Bavaria, and the King of France. One of the principal reasons which induced the Margrave Waldemar to withdraw his candidature for the imperial crown was the unsettled state of affairs in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, to which we have already referred.

During the year 1309 Waldemar visited the principal cities in his dominions. At Spandau he granted an interview to Frederick von Alvensleben, one of the four guardians of the young Margrave Johann, and from this time we find that he was generally attended by one or other of these knights, which leads to the supposition that their consent had been obtained to his acting as regent and guardian. The Margravine Anna, who had

originally acquiesced in this arrangement, but had subsequently retracted, had withdrawn from political affairs, and was living in retirement on her private estate at Henneberg.

In May, 1309, she was visited by Waldemar at Tangermünde, when he was betrothed to her daughter Agnes, sister of his ward. In a decree issued in the same month he already styles himself the brother-in-law of the young Margrave Johann. Waldemar now publicly declared himself regent, and, by a series of artful devices, succeeded in conciliating the different towns which had at first united themselves into a confederation to resist his pretensions. Waldemar confirmed the rights and privileges enjoyed hitherto by the towns of Berlin and Kölln, and issued a decree ordering the extradition of all criminals who should take refuge in the territory of his "beloved cousin, the Margrave Johann."

The time fixed for the marriage of Waldemar with his relative Agnes was fast approaching. In consequence of their near relationship it was necessary to obtain the Papal dispensation, and accordingly the Margrave wrote to Pope Clement V., who, in November, 1309, forwarded from Avignon the requisite dispensation.

In 1310 Waldemar took part in hostilities against the seaports, which originated in the following manner. Count Henry of Mecklenburg had betrothed his only daughter Matilda to Duke Otho of



Lüneberg, and proposed to celebrate the festivities in his capital. But a misunderstanding had long existed between Henry and the citizens of Wismar, who allied themselves with the other seaports, Rostock, Stralsund, and Greifswald, and determined to assert their independence, refusing even to allow the marriage to take place in their town.

Henry, repulsed from Wismar, invited his friends to Sternberg, where the ceremony was performed, and requested the assistance of his guests in reducing the rebel towns to submission. Eric, King of Denmark, who had also a dispute with these towns, readily joined the coalition, on condition that Waldemar joined the alliance, as he feared that otherwise the latter might unite with their opponents and prove a very formidable enemy.

There had long existed an estrangement between Brandenburg and Denmark, in consequence of the Danish King having, in a previous war, assisted Niklot against the former, but an accidental circumstance caused the Margrave to readily accept the invitation to join the alliance. Waldemar had long cherished a desire to receive the distinction of knighthood, and as it was a condition of that order that the bestower of the dignity must be higher in rank than the person on whom it was conferred, the opportunity now accidentally presented itself. The Margrave accordingly agreed to aid in the campaign, on condition that King Eric

would undertake to confer the coveted honour upon him and ninety-nine of his chief nobles. Eric at once expressed his willingness, and resolved to celebrate the event with all distinction by convoking the whole of the nobles to a four weeks' festivity in the town of Rostock. Should the town refuse to admit the guests, it was resolved to form a large camp outside its walls in the best season of the year, and on the conclusion of the festivities to reduce the town to submission by force of arms.

As it was necessary to make serious preparations, the *fête* was adjourned until the summer of 1311.

The negotiations for the purchase of a part of Pomerania by the German Order, which had been pending since 1309, now came to a satisfactory conclusion, and Waldemar despatched an embassy to Stolpe, where it was finally settled that the Margrave Waldemar should transfer to the Order the cities of Dantzic, Dirschau, and Swetz, and surrounding territory, in consideration of 10,000 Brandenburg marks.

The money paid was very welcome to the Margrave, who hoped thereby to be in a position to make an imposing appearance at the grand *fête* to be held at Rostock in the following year.

As soon as the news of the intended campaign reached the ears of the people of Rostock they determined on making active preparations, and forthwith prepared to put the place in a state of defence. The walls were strengthened, and no

effort was spared to enable the town to make a long and determined resistance. In the spring of 1311, having first sent invitations to all the chief princes and nobles to attend the projected festivities, the Danish King proceeded to Rostock with a large retinue, and asked permission to enter the place to celebrate a royal *fête*. The municipality held a consultation, and sent reply that they would be willing and eager to welcome him into the town with a limited retinue, but not with his present following.

The monarch would not, however, hear of any such conditions, and the citizens held a meeting at night to consider their line of procedure.

Eric having been allowed to enter the town with a small retinue and been courteously received by the council, fearing foul play from the attitude of the masses, abruptly withdrew, and the citizens immediately closed the gates against all strangers.

The King retired with his followers to a large meadow, at some distance from the town, and caused an immense camp to be formed on the plain extending from Bertoldesdorf to Michelsdorf. The former is now called Bartelsdorf, and is situated about a quarter of a mile north of Rostock.

In the course of the first week there arrived some of the most distinguished princes invited, including the Margrave Waldemar with his bride and his young ward, the Margrave Johann. Princes and knights attended from all parts of Germany and

Poland. The clergy were also represented by such dignitaries as the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen and the Bishops of Halberstadt, Sleswig, Lubeck, Brandenburg, Schwerin, &c. Besides these high personages the assemblage was graced by the presence of a great number of ladies, wives and daughters of the distinguished guests. It is estimated that the whole number of visitors amounted to upwards of 6,000, not including the host of servants, followers, musicians, conjurors, and performers who came to take part in the festivities. The King of Denmark and the Margrave had jointly made ample provision for the guests. Of wine and beer there was no limit, and the tables were free to all. They had also provided an immense store of corn and hay, so that the horses might not lack provender. In fact, everything was on a scale of unprecedented magnificence.

On the evening before the day appointed for the grand ceremony of the investiture of the Margrave with the order of knighthood, the Danish King sent him a splendid scarlet mantle and coat, as also a bridled charger, sword, and shield.

On the morning of the ceremony all attended mass; after which the King repaired to his tent and took his place upon a magnificently adorned throne, on which were placed all the objects necessary for the performance of the ceremony. At a given signal the Margrave proceeded from his own quarters towards the tent of the King, clad in

the knightly robes and seated on the charger, and accompanied by a procession of ninety-nine of his nobles and by a band of musicians.

On arriving at the royal tent he dismounted, and the united assemblage of princes and nobles saluted the King. The Margrave then fell on his knees, and, after repeating the usual formula, was duly dubbed a knight. The King performed the same ceremony for each of the ninety-nine attendants of the Margrave. The investiture being over, the most distinguished of the assembly sat down to a banquet of unusual magnificence.

On the following day was held a grand tournament, at which the princes vied with one another in skill, dexterity, and endurance.

These festivities were continued for a whole month, and the time was spent alternately in banqueting, sports, and dancing. The noble and illustrious troubadour Henry von Meissen has handed down in verse the particulars of this memorable *fête*.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary nature of these festivities, the practical object of the meeting was by no means lost sight of, for before the end of the month a joint plan of operations for reducing to submission the towns of Wismar and Rostock was concerted by the King, the Margrave, and the Count of Mecklenburg.

The meeting had hardly dispersed when the army of Henry of Mecklenburg advanced towards

Wismar and the Danish fleet began to blockade the port.

The siege was forthwith commenced, and several attempts were made to take the town by storm. The citizens, however, offered such a vigorous resistance that the Danish fleet was compelled to retire, and the army of the confederates suffered heavy losses, their repeated assaults being steadily repulsed. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Wismar, finding that Rostock could not assist them, reluctantly listened to overtures of peace, which was successfully concluded by the mediation of Duke Wladislaus of Sleswig and Nicolaus of Werle.

In the beginning of the year 1312 it was determined to make a joint attack on Rostock, whose vessels had plundered some of the Danish ports, the Margrave Waldemar promising a contingent of 400 well-equipped soldiers. The united forces first laid siege to Warnemünde, which was forced to surrender after a three months' resistance.

The allies now pushed on the siege of Rostock with vigour. Four towers were erected, occupied respectively by the Danes, the Brandenburgers, the Mecklenburgers, and the rest. Meanwhile a plague broke out among the allies, which compelled the greater part of the army to withdraw. The Danish King and the Margrave returned home, leaving Henry of Mecklenburg to continue the siege single-handed. All his efforts would have been fruitless if internal dissensions had not broken out in the

town itself, and one of the leading partisans, Heinrich Runge by name, a man of violent disposition, succeeded in making himself a sort of dictator. The self-elected governor, having caused the chief citizens to be executed, entered into negotiations for peace with the besiegers; and on the town of Rostock undertaking to pay as war indemnity the sum of 14,000 marks within seven months and to release all prisoners of war, a peace was concluded, Warnemünde remaining in the hands of the allies until the Rostockers had discharged all their obligations. Thus was finally settled the contention between the seaports and their nominal ruler, the Count of Mecklenburg.

Waldemar made great efforts to acquire popularity amongst his subjects, by extending privileges and immunities, as well as by enacting laws for the protection of property and the punishment of criminals.

In the summer of 1313 the whole of Germany was in a state of agitation in consequence of the sudden death of the Emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg, who was one of the greatest monarchs that had ruled over Germany, and who had followed in the footsteps of Frederick Barbarossa. Henry VII. of Luxemburg was elected Emperor about the same time that Waldemar succeeded to the Margravate.

Almost immediately after his election he received an embassy from Bohemia offering the Princess Elizabeth, sister of Wenceslaus, in marriage to his

son John, a boy of fourteen, who was afterwards known as King John of Bohemia.

The Emperor at first rejected the proposal, but at last consented, and despatched to Bohemia a large body of troops under the command of his son John, who was received with shouts of welcome. Bohemia was at this period in a state of anarchy, in consequence of the tyranny and misrule of Henry of Carinthia, who had seized the reins of government. The young Prince, aided by experienced and able advisers, soon restored order and expelled the usurper.

In the meanwhile war was raging in Italy between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The latter sought the aid of the Emperor, who crossed the Alps triumphantly and entered Milan, the ancient capital of Lombardy, where he placed the crown on his own head.

The Emperor, leaving Count Werner von Homburg governor of Lombardy, now marched against Rome with a force of 2,000 men. He succeeded in entering the city, but was repulsed in an attempt to storm the citadel, which was defended by able veterans sent by Robert, King of Naples.

The Emperor was obliged to withdraw from Rome, but succeeded in making himself master of a great part of the country, and distributed the Italian imperial offices among his faithful adherents. His son, King John of Bohemia, was on the point of crossing the Alps with reinforcements when the



successful career of the Emperor was cut short by his sudden death, at Buonconvento, in August, 1313.

On the death of the Emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg, a great number of competitors appeared for the imperial sceptre. The Margrave Waldemar was at first anxious to put himself forward, but, finding that his rivals were too formidable, he resolved to withdraw his candidature.

The principal competitors were King John of Bohemia, son of the late Emperor, who was strongly supported by his uncles, Baldwin of Treves and Peter of Mayence, but who subsequently renounced his claims in favour of Louis of Bavaria; Frederick of Austria, who represented the House of Hapsburg, and was supported by the Pope; and, lastly, Louis of Bavaria, of the House of Wittelsbach. The latter at first promised to support Frederick of Austria, but, on the retirement of King John, finding himself at the head of the Luxemburg party, he resolved to come forward as a candidate. The Margrave Waldemar was in favour of Frederick of Austria, and proceeded to Frankfort to be present at the election. The contest lay between Frederick and Louis of Bavaria. The latter, having received the majority of votes, was crowned with great splendour at Aix-la-Chapelle, but his rival, who was supported by the Margrave Waldemar and other princes, was

crowned at Bonn by the Archbishop of Cologne, Henry von Virneburg, after which the Margrave returned home in December, and took no active part in the war which was waged for several years between the rival Emperors.

In August of the year 1314 the young Margrave Johann attained his majority, and assumed the reins of government, so that from this time forward the Court of Johann was distinct from that of Waldemar.

In the course of the autumn the Margrave concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Henry of Mecklenburg. Towards the end of the year the war between the Danes and the seaports of Stralsund and Greifswalde was resumed. For some unexplained reason, the Margrave Waldemar appears to have severed his alliance with the King of Denmark, and to have concluded a treaty with the town of Stralsund. This step on the part of the Margrave lost him many friends, for we find that the former regents appointed by the late Margrave Hermann, as well as many of the most influential nobles, disapproved of his policy, and leagued themselves with his opponents, who, however, finding that they had little prospect of success against the superior means and forces of the Margrave, resolved to come to terms with him. Accordingly a treaty was signed between Waldemar and the King of Denmark, by which the Margrave undertook to renounce his alliance with

the town of Stralsund, which was to retain all its rights and privileges, on condition of acknowledging the supremacy of Prince Witzlaus of Rügen. On his return from Frankfort, the Margrave is said to have inflicted a very peculiar punishment on his ambassador, Nicolaus von Bock, who was chained to the banqueting hall and only allowed to be fed on apples, the unfortunate man soon perishing of hunger.

In the course of the year 1415 the whole country was ravaged by a dreadful contagious disease, which carried off thousands of victims. The Crusaders had brought with them from Asia several varieties of disease hitherto peculiar to that continent, at least in their severer forms, amongst which were the plague, cholera, and leprosy. The unfortunate victims of leprosy, when once infected, very seldom recovered—nay, often lingered for years, the objects of pity and disgust.

So universal was the disease, that most of the principal towns in Germany were provided with permanent lazarettos for the reception of the unfortunate sufferers, who were strictly forbidden to associate with the rest of the population. Various precautionary measures were taken to prevent the spread of the disease, so that in course of time it was stamped out. Even in the year 1529 the hospitals of St. George, in Hamburg, were still tenanted, but in other parts of Germany the malady had disappeared before the fifteenth century.

In the summer of 1315 King Eric entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Kings of Norway and Sweden, with King Wladislaus Loktek, and also Prince Witzlaus of Rügen. The Margrave, suspecting that the confederation had hostile intentions against himself, entered into a closer alliance with the Margrave Johann and with the Count of Holstein, and made the necessary preparations for the impending struggle.

Although both sides were eager for hostilities, an attempt was made by Witzlaus of Rügen to bring about a compromise ; but neither party was willing to make concessions, and all attempts to effect a friendly arrangement failed.

In order to raise funds, the Margrave Waldemar sold the territory of Bernstein to the Duke of Stettin for 7,000 marks. He then took into his pay a large body of mercenaries, whom he despatched for the defence of Stralsund against the proposed invasion of the island by Prince Witzlaus. The Margrave himself, at the head of another force, advanced into the territory of Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the confederation.

As a pretext for commencing hostilities, the Margrave demanded from the Duke the restoration of the territory of Stargard, which had formerly belonged to the House of Brandenburg. This being indignantly refused, Waldemar about the middle of December, 1315, declared war, and

laid siege to the castle of Fürstenhagen, close to Waldeck, and, after taking the fortress by storm, the Margrave, contrary to the advice of his councillors, proceeded to besiege the town.

As it was now the worst season of the year, and the army of the Margrave had been thinned by the prevailing epidemic, the plague, the garrison determined to make a vigorous resistance, under the command of a very able and experienced captain, named Martin von der Huda. Waldemar, finding it impossible to take the place by storm, hit on an ingenious plan, namely, to enter the town by means of a subterraneous excavation under the walls and fortifications. The passage was nearly completed when the besieged obtained information of the scheme, and, having succeeded in tracing the situations of the galleries, directed a stream of water into the mine, drowning the workmen and rendering the operations useless.

The besiegers lay before the town nearly two months without making any perceptible progress. The Margrave, finding all his efforts fruitless, and that his army was suffering both from disease and the severity of the winter, determined to raise the siege and to march against Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, who had by this time collected an army, and had advanced into New Brandenburg.

At the end of February, 1316, therefore, he withdrew from Waldeck and advanced against the Duke of Mecklenburg, who had retired from Bran-

denburg and had taken up his position near Strelitz. Finding the army of the Duke drawn up in battle array, the Margrave at once commenced the attack. A fierce fight ensued, in which the Brandenburgers were worsted, and were driven back into the lakes, many being either drowned or made prisoners.

In March, 1316, the King of Denmark, either to gain time or with a desire for peace, convoked an assembly of princes at Rendsburg, to consider the advisability of negotiations for a cessation of hostilities. A long and bitter discussion took place, consisting of mutual recriminations, and the result was as might be expected. It may be very justly doubted whether the King of Denmark had convoked the assembly from sincere motives, for in the following month, as soon as the weather was favourable for a campaign, he summoned his allies to send their promised contingents in order to besiege Stralsund. It was not, however, until the end of June that the forces were in a position to seriously begin the siege.

The island was garrisoned by Brandenburgers and Pomeranians, who were prepared to make the most obstinate resistance.

Anticipating an attack both by sea and land, the Dukes of Pomerania had collected their fleet off the island. The Stralsunders had also equipped vessels of their own, determined to make a bold stroke before the arrival of the whole force of the allies, and secretly organized a night attack.

On the 21st of June, shortly before daybreak, a large body of Stralsunders made a sortie from the two principal gates and penetrated the camp of the enemy, many of whom were surprised and killed before the sentinels could give the alarm. Finding themselves overpowered, the besiegers fled from the entrenchments in wild dismay, leaving behind a large amount of booty and a great number of prisoners, among whom were Duke Eric of Saxe-Lauenburg and other princes.

In the mean time King Eric, having united his forces with those of the King of Sweden, advanced on Stralsund to avenge the defeat of his allies. He had already despatched a large fleet of eighty ships, manned by 7,000 seamen, under the command of the Count Hermann von Gleichen, to blockade the port. The Margrave Waldemar, on hearing of the advance of the allied army of Danes, Swedes, and Mecklenburgers, resolved to oppose their progress without loss of time, and by forced marches came up with the enemy at Schulzendorf. As his army was much inferior in numbers to that of his opponents, he was advised by his friends to avoid a battle and remain on the defensive.

The Margrave was, however, too headstrong to be persuaded and too proud to hear of retreat. On one of the hottest days of August a most sanguinary engagement took place at Gransee, near Potsdam, in which great bravery was displayed by both sides. The battle lasted the whole day with alternating

success, and at dusk both parties retired to their respective camps. Although neither side could claim the victory, the allies had succeeded in their object, namely, to prevent the Margrave from affording aid to the Stralsunders, but they were not equally fortunate by sea. In a naval engagement which took place about the same time, the Danish fleet narrowly escaped entire destruction at the hands of the Stralsunders, under the command of Christopher von Halland, who captured the island of Svenborg and put an end to the blockade.

The hostilities were protracted until the winter, when both sides, having experienced severe losses, commenced negotiations for peace, and ultimately a conference was arranged at Meienburg, where two knights were selected on each side to draw up the conditions.

On the 1st of January, 1317, the preliminary articles were agreed to, and it was arranged that the treaty should be signed in the month of March by the belligerents at Templin, where it was settled that each of the contracting parties should remain in possession of the territory over which they ruled prior to the war, and that Stralsund should enjoy all her former rights and privileges. This treaty freed Brandenburg from a struggle which had nearly destroyed her life's energies.

In 1317 the deaths of the Margrave Johann without issue and of Henry the Landless occurred about the same time, the latter leaving a young son named



Henry III., who was adopted by Waldemar and made his heir. Waldemar died in the succeeding year (1319), and Henry survived him but a twelve-month.

Waldemar may be regarded as one of the greatest rulers of his time, possessing much military capacity. His grand object appears to have been the gaining of an extended sea-board for his dominions. Unfortunately for him, however, his territory was not sufficiently strong to give him the necessary support, and he could never count on his allies, who always deserted him at the first disaster.

The Askanian dynasty, after a rule of about 170 years, had raised Brandenburg to the position of the most important State of North Germany. Its extent of territory was more than doubled, for they had not only made considerable acquisitions by purchase, conquest, and diplomacy, but they had also acquired feudal rights over an extensive tract of country.

The population of Brandenburg consisted of Saxons, Wends, and Dutch (settlers). The Catholic religion was firmly established, and a large number of churches and religious institutions had been founded and endowed.

The nobles or great vassals appear to have been constantly in dispute with the Margraves on account of the latter attempting to make them subordinate by defining the exact nature of their authority.

Most of the inhabitants of towns and villages

lived by the cultivation of land, the industrial pursuits being left to the slaves and freedmen, and in the twelfth century this part of the population monopolized the entire trade of the country. Their power and wealth were greatly augmented by the Askanians, and gradually the nobles who resided in the towns, being unable to support their position, dropped their titles and intermarried amongst the traders. It was thus that a strong aristocratic element was introduced among the citizens, which in after-years led to wars between the towns and the landed nobility.

The principal commercial centres of Brandenburg were Salzwedel, Stendal, Seehausen, Gardelegen, Osterburg, Werben, Brandenburg, Berlin, and Frankfort, which all belonged to the Hanseatic Confederation.

Salzwedel was the chief emporium from being in direct communication with Hamburg and Lubeck by land and water. The chief articles of industry were linen and cloth. The former was made by the villagers in the Wend districts; the latter by the Germans and Dutch. Wine and beer were also made in large quantities. It is stated that the Wends were the first to introduce beer, whereas the cultivation of the grape was carried on by Rhenish settlers.

The import and export duty appears to have been very light.

The condition of the peasants was superior to

that of neighbouring countries, for they were greatly protected by the Askanians, and their interests were represented at the Landtag by their own deputies.

The first coins of Brandenburg were "Blechpfennings," made of very thin silver. In the twelfth century pfennings of increased value were struck, and were called denars. These were reckoned according to weight, and a pound of denars was equivalent to a silver mark; a rouleau of twelve denars was called a shilling.

Justice was administered by the governors of provinces, who were always of noble birth. Each province was divided into a number of districts in which cases were decided by bailiffs.

There also existed a High Court of Appeal at Tangermünde, over which the ruler was supposed to preside. As the towns increased in size, their magistrates were invested with the right of administering justice within the immediate precincts of the town.

## CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1320—1347.

Interregnum (1320—1323)—Condition of Brandenburg—State of Europe—Struggle between Frederick of Austria and Louis of Bavaria—Battle of Morgarten—Battle of Mühldorf (1322)—Diet of Nuremberg (1323)—Louis elected Margrave of Brandenburg—Expedition of the Emperor Louis into Italy—Transfer of the Papal See from Rome to Avignon—Pope John XXII.—The Anti-Pope Martin V.—Pope Clement VI.—The Margrave Louis invades Pomerania—Battle of Kremmen (1331)—Diet of Frankfort (1344)—Diet of Rhense—Charles of Moravia elected Emperor (1346)—Death of the Emperor Louis (1347).

On the death of Waldemar the Great, Brandenburg became the scene of internal dissensions for several years, and was reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. Various claimants attempted to make themselves supreme, bands of robbers plundered the country, and the clergy in vain attempted to put a stop to the disorders by wholesale excommunications. Added to this, the plague broke out and carried off a large number of the population.

The whole of Europe was at this period distracted by intestine struggles. Italy was a prey to

the fury of exasperated factions, and Germany was the scene of a violent and protracted contest between the rival Emperors, Frederick of Austria and Louis of Bavaria. The latter, who had been elected by a majority of the electoral princes, was also supported by the Cantons of Switzerland, who naturally wished to see the imperial sceptre wielded by any one rather than a Duke of Austria.

The first act of Louis after his election was to confirm, by an imperial edict, the independence of those Cantons of Switzerland which had been subject to the House of Hapsburg.

Notwithstanding the imperial decree, Leopold, Duke of Austria, determined to reduce to submission the Cantons which had shaken off their allegiance. War had been fomenting in the Swiss mountains since 1313, when the Hapsburg vassals of Lucerne had undertaken an unsuccessful expedition against the Cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden.

The Duke of Austria, having assembled a large army, penetrated into Switzerland, and was joined at Stanzstadt, in Unterwalden, by Count Otho of Strasburg and the Lucerners. On reaching Morgarten, fifty men appeared in front of the lines of the Schwytzers. These men, who had during previous disturbances been banished, now resolved to join their countrymen in the struggle for freedom, but, as the Cantons refused to admit them in the ranks of the combatants, they stationed them-

selves on an eminence above Morgarten. Here they were subsequently joined by 1,300 of their countrymen. As the Austrian army was traversing the Engpass, between the ridge of Morgarten and the lake, the fifty Swiss exiles hurled down fragments of rocks and trunks of trees on their enemy, producing terrible confusion and disorder.

The Swiss, taking advantage of the panic created, rushed down from the mountains, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. The confederates gained an easy victory, and Leopold escaped with difficulty from the scene of the disaster.

The Duke now assisted his brother Frederick in his struggle with Louis of Bavaria, whom he had already defeated in the summer of 1315 at Augsburg. In consequence of Leopold's disastrous campaign in Switzerland, Louis was enabled to reorganize a large force in Bavaria, where he was joined by King John of Bohemia. A series of engagements ensued, with little or no result.

In 1318 a great battle was fought at Esslingen, in Suabia, but both sides claimed the victory. At length, in 1321, Frederick having returned from an expedition into Italy, finding himself at the head of a large army, and being reinforced by a considerable number of Hungarians, entered Bavaria and laid waste the whole country.

Louis thereupon advanced at the head of a large army, supported by his allies, the King of Bohemia, the Count of Zollern, and the Burgrave of Nurem-

berg. By forced marches the Bavarian army overtook Frederick before the arrival of his brother, Duke Leopold, at Mühlendorf, where, through a *ruse de guerre* employed by the Burgrave of Nuremberg, who had disguised his soldiers as imperialists, the army of Frederick was completely routed, and he himself taken prisoner and conveyed to the castle of Trausnitz, from which he was not released until 1325.

For this victory Louis was also in great measure indebted to the skilful tactics of his commander-in-chief, the renowned Schweppermann. It is related that after the victory nothing could be found for the imperial table but a basket full of eggs, which were distributed amongst the officers, the Emperor remarking, "To each of you one egg, to our gallant Schweppermann two!" These words are to be found inscribed on his tombstone at Castel, near Amberg. Schweppermann, though old, lame, and short of stature, was an experienced officer and an able tactician.

Brandenburg was now partitioned as follows:—Rudolf, Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, lineal descendant of the youngest son of Albert the Bear, seized the Mittel and Alt Mark, as well as Upper Lusatia; Duke Henry of Brunswick took forcible possession of the Priegnitz, including the towns of Prenzlau and Pasewalk in the Uckermark; the Bohemians secured a part of Upper Lusatia; Agnes, the widow of Waldemar, obtained as her widow's portion a

part of the Altmark, and the widow of Henry the Landless acquired Landsberg, which she transferred to her daughter on marrying the Duke of Brunswick; Poland seized a portion of the Neumark, and the Bishops of Magdeburg and Halberstadt attempted to revive old claims on the territory of Brandenburg.

The victory of Mühldorf, 1322, made Louis of Bavaria supreme in Germany, and he at once availed himself of the distracted state of the country to induce the Diet, which was assembled at Nuremberg, to acknowledge his son Louis as Margrave of Brandenburg, the House of Wittelsbach thus becoming rulers of the country.

#### LOUIS I., 1324—1351.

Louis was a youth of only twelve years when elected, so that in fact he was nothing but the instrument of his father. He commenced his rule under the most unfavourable conditions. The Emperor, in order to strengthen his son's position, married him to the Princess Margaret of Denmark, through whose influence he recovered Priegnitz from the Duke of Brunswick. By an arrangement with Waldemar's widow Agnes, who had remarried, the Altmark was to revert to the House of Brandenburg on the death of her husband. An agreement was also made with Duke Rudolf of Saxe-Wittenberg, who, fearing that the Margrave would obtain the armed assistance of the



King of Denmark, offered to pay 16,000 marks for Lower Lusatia for the period of twelve years, but to renounce his claims to the rest on receiving a money payment.

Louis, however, redeemed Lower Lusatia in 1328, and was now virtually ruler of the Neumark and the Middlemark, Priegnitz, and Lower Lusatia.

Just as matters were improving a conflict arose with Pope John XXII., who declared that the young Margrave had no right to Brandenburg. It appears that King John of Bohemia, being jealous of the young Elector of Brandenburg, now severed his connexion with the Emperor Louis and entered into an alliance with the House of Hapsburg, and, conjointly with France, Naples, and Hungary, prevailed upon Pope John XXII. to call the Emperor Louis to account. Accordingly the Pontiff summoned the Emperor to appear before him at Avignon, and on his refusing to obey the summons placed him under the interdict, 1324. The Pope then called on the Poles and Lithuanians to invade Brandenburg, which was at the mercy of the invaders, as the Emperor could at this critical moment afford no assistance to his son. As the Papacy now exercised so great an influence in the affairs of Europe, we may as well give some account of the transfer of the Chair of St. Peter from Rome to Avignon.

The period during which the Popes fixed their residence at Avignon, and thus put themselves

under the influence of the kings of France, was styled by the Italians "the seventy years' captivity in Babylon." It appears that on the death of Pope Benedict XI., in 1305, Rome was distracted by the factions of the cardinals and nobles, as the members of the College of Cardinals consisted of an Italian and French party, and the latter were under the influence of Philip the Fair, King of France. As the French cardinals were in the majority, they succeeded in securing the election of Bertrand du Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who, although a subject of the King of England, had entered into a secret compact binding himself to serve the interests of the King of France. The new Pope, who was a Gascon by birth and education, refused to repair to Rome, but invited the Italian cardinals to attend his coronation at Lyons, where he was solemnly enthroned under the title of Clement V. For five years Clement sojourned in various parts of France, until at length he fixed his residence at Avignon, a city under the rule of the Count of Provence, who, as King of Naples, was a vassal of the Holy See.

Though nominally beyond French territory, Clement showed his subservience to the King of France, to whom he owed his promotion. He created ten new cardinals, all Frenchmen and devoted to French interests, and granted to Philip the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France for five years. Pope Clement did not, however, allow himself to be made a tool of the French

King, the aggrandizement of whose power he had reason to dread. On the death of the Emperor Albert of Austria, Philip sought to secure the imperial sceptre for a member of his own family, and with that view visited Clement to obtain the Pope's interest for his brother, Charles of Valois.

Clement nominally complied with Philip's request by writing a letter to the electors in favour of Charles's candidature, but at the same time adopted underhand means to thwart the King's policy by secretly recommending Duke Henry of Luxemburg as the fittest candidate, who, as we have already seen, was crowned Emperor under the title of Henry VII.

In the latter part of his pontificate Clement was embroiled with the Venetians as to the possession of Ferrara, which the Pope claimed as a dependency of the Roman See.

The Venetians, refusing to give up Ferrara, were placed under the Papal interdict, from which they were absolved in 1313 through the mediation of Francis Dandolo, afterwards Doge of Venice.

In 1314 Clement, becoming infirm, proceeded to his native province, but death overtook him at Roquemaure, on the Rhone, in April, 1314.

Philip, King of France, did not long survive the Pontiff, for he died some months after from the effects of an accident while hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau, and was succeeded by his son Louis X.

Immediately on the death of Clement V., the cardinals, of whom six only were Italians, met to appoint a successor. As the French cardinals were in a large majority, the choice of the conclave fell upon Cardinal James Duese, who assumed the title of John XXII.

To conciliate the Italian cardinals, the new Pope swore that he would never mount on horseback unless to return to Rome. It is said that, to evade his oath, the Pontiff proceeded to Avignon by boat along the Rhone, and walked from the landing place to the Papal palace, which he never quitted except to attend the services of the cathedral.

As the new King of France did not possess the vigour and energy of his father Philip, and left the conduct of affairs in the hands of his uncle, Charles of Valois, Pope John soon began to take advantage of the altered state of things to assert the supremacy of the Papacy over the Empire.

He redistributed the dioceses of France in disregard of the rights of the King, and put in force all the machinery of the Inquisition for the suppression of secret societies. Pope John soon became embroiled with the Franciscans, who lived in luxury and splendour, although holding severe views as to the obligation of evangelical poverty. Pope John issued several Bulls, charging them with hypocrisy, and forbidding them to use the name of the Holy See in collecting money. In the struggle in Germany between the rival Emperors, Pope John

at first took no part, and gave the title of King of the Romans to both claimants in turn. In fact, it appears that the crafty Pontiff regarded the struggle with no little satisfaction, inasmuch as he is said to have given expression to the saying "that when kings and emperors quarrel, then the Pope is truly Pope." But as soon as the victory of Mühldorf made Louis of Bavaria supreme in Germany, Pope John resolved to assert his authority, and issued a manifesto in which he claimed for the Holy See the right to arbitrate in all cases of disputed elections, and even forbade the Emperor to use the title of King of Rome. Louis thereupon convoked an assembly at Nuremberg, where he read a protest against the Papal decree, and complained that, after having been acknowledged King of the Romans nearly ten years, his right to the title should now be called in question.

Louis now appealed to a General Council, in which he accused the Pontiff of encroaching on the rights of the German electors and of stirring up rebellion in the Empire; upon which Pope John placed the Emperor under the interdict, and declared the election of the Margrave Louis as Kurfürst of Brandenburg to be illegal. In the meanwhile the Emperor Louis, finding his enemies increasing on all sides, resolved to come to a reconciliation with his rival Frederick, whom he visited at his prison at Trausnitz and offered to liberate on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance.

Duke Frederick on recovering his freedom remained faithful to his engagement, notwithstanding the instigations of the Pontiff, who released him from his oath. The two rivals now became friends, and secretly agreed to divide the imperial throne.

Louis, on becoming reconciled with the Hapsburgs, appointed Frederick of Meissen governor of Brandenburg, in the name of his son Louis, to free the territory from the depredations of the Poles, who committed acts of the grossest barbarity, and reduced a great portion of the country to a state of desolation.

The Emperor now undertook an expedition to Italy to receive the imperial crown at the hands of the Anti-Pope Martin V., whom he had elected in opposition to Pope John at Avignon.

Louis crossed the Alps, entered Milan and Pisa in triumph, and proceeded to Rome, where he caused himself to be proclaimed lord of the "Eternal City," and to be crowned at St. Peter's with his wife Margaret of Holland, who shortly after gave birth to a son, Louis, surnamed the Roman. Louis, however, soon found that he could not prolong his stay in Rome. The King of Naples had despatched a large fleet, which advanced up the Tiber and threatened to take possession of the city. In the mean time the citizens had become discontented in consequence of the increase of taxes imposed by the Emperor, and the partisans of Pope John had suc-

ceeded in stirring up violent opposition to the Anti-Pope.

The Neapolitans having cut off all supplies, the citizens broke out in open revolt, and Louis found it prudent to withdraw his troops from the city and hasten to Pisa, where he was joined by a great number of discontented Franciscans. After holding an assembly, in which Pope John was again publicly deposed and denounced as a heretic, the Emperor resolved to return to Germany, and in January, 1330, he recrossed the Alps, leaving behind at Pisa Martin V. under the protection of Count Boniface of Donoratico, who, however, after some time, treacherously delivered him into the hands of Pope John's partisans. To save his life, Martin was forced to abjure his errors in the cathedral of Pisa, and, on being conveyed in chains to Avignon, he appeared before his rival with a halter round his neck and humbly besought forgiveness. The unfortunate Anti-Pope spent the remainder of his life in the Papal palace in strict seclusion.

Scarcely had Louis arrived in Germany than he received news of the death of his rival Frederick of Austria, whom the electoral princes had refused to acknowledge as the Emperor's colleague on the throne. During the absence of the Emperor in Italy, Brandenburg had been the scene of a religious intestine struggle, headed by the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bishop Stephen of Lebus, who

sought, through the Papal ban, to appropriate the dominions of the Elector.

The inhabitants of Frankfort, enraged at the losses they had endured through Bishop Stephen, marched against him, defeating his army and taking him prisoner. The Pope in his turn placed all those who opposed the bishops under the interdict. The discomfiture of his opponents induced the Margrave to attempt to force the Duke of Pomerania to restore to him the Uckermark, but the Margrave was totally defeated near Kremmen, and agreed to renounce his feudal rights over Pomerania. At the same time, however, he secured the right of inheritance to the duchy, in case of the extinction of the ducal line, and further, on the payment of 6,000 marks silver, he recovered the Uckermark.

In 1334 the Margrave Louis concluded an important arrangement with his brothers, Duke Stephen, Louis the Roman, and William, according to which he and his successors, in the event of the extinction of their line, were to receive Bavaria and the hereditary property in Franconia and Suabia. Moreover, should the Margrave die without issue, his brothers were to receive the Mark Brandenburg.

In 1342 Louis married Margaret, surnamed "Maultasche" \* (ugly mouth), the last and only

\* According to some historians, Margaret was so surnamed from the castle of Maultasch, situated between Botzen and Meran, where she resided.



heiress of Tyrol. She was the widow of John Henry, the second son of the King of Bohemia, and brother of Charles IV.

In 1343 hostilities broke out between Louis and Otho, Duke of Brunswick, surnamed the Mild, arising from attempts on the part of the former to compel the Duke to cede the Altmark before the latter's demise.

The Pope's rancour against the Emperor still continued. Notwithstanding the intercession of the Duke of Austria and the King of Bohemia, he again excommunicated the Emperor and threatened to lay the whole of Germany under an interdict, as long as the inhabitants regarded Louis as their sovereign. The Emperor now resolved to resign the crown as the price of obtaining the Papal absolution, and even signed a formal act transferring the sceptre to his cousin, the Duke of Bavaria.

At this critical juncture Pope John died, and was succeeded by Benedict XII., who, with the advice of the cardinals and the French King, persevered in the policy of his predecessor.

In 1342 Pope Benedict died, and was succeeded by Clement VI., who proved a more formidable opponent of the Emperor. Clement had been originally a Benedictine monk and Chancellor to King Philip of France. He was noted for his learning, eloquence, and agreeable manners, at the same time for his great firmness and decision of

character. Even whilst Archbishop of Rouen he had displayed his hostility to the Emperor, who nevertheless despatched a mission to him immediately after his election, proposing terms of reconciliation with the Holy See. Pope Clement, convinced that he had the destiny of the German Empire in his hands, disdainfully rejected all overtures, and demanded that Louis should abdicate, and penitently acknowledge all the errors of his past conduct.

In 1343 Clement issued a Bull setting forth in detail all the offences of which the Emperor had been guilty, and calling upon the German princes to elect a new Emperor. Accordingly a number of electors met at Rhense, under the influence of King John of Bohemia, who was now opposed to the Emperor, who also appeared in person, and adroitly succeeded in averting the immediate danger by promising to be guided by the judgment of the electors.

The Emperor shortly after summoned a Diet at Frankfort, where, after exposing the Pope's intrigues, he asked the advice of the assembly. As Louis expressed his willingness to resign, the electors seemed disposed to accept the offer in favour of Charles, Margrave of Moravia, son of King John of Bohemia. The latter then visited Pope Clement at Avignon, with his son Charles, who agreed to sign a document binding himself to a degrading submission to the Papal See.

The Pontiff now ordered a new election, appointing Count Gerlach of Nassau to superintend the proceedings, and decreeing that Louis of Brandenburg, son of the deposed Emperor, should be excluded from voting.

Accordingly the electors met at Rhense, July 10, 1346, and Charles of Moravia was elected Emperor. The general feeling of the Germans was, however, in favour of the Emperor Louis, who summoned a Diet at Spire to protest against the outrageous attempts of the Pope to dominate over Germany. Moreover, the cities of Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle refused to receive the new Emperor, who, after being crowned at Bonn, was forced to betake himself to France with his father, the blind King John, who, as ally of the French King, took part in the battle of Crecy, in which he fell mortally wounded.

Germany was now fast drifting into a civil war when the Emperor suddenly met with an accident in the hunting field, which terminated fatally, October, 1347.

## CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1347—1415.

Accession of Charles IV. (1347)—The Pretender Waldemar—Invasion of Brandenburg—Rival Emperor Count Günther—The Margrave Louis abdicates (1351)—Louis II., the Roman (1351—1365)—Otho, the “Blotched” (1365—1373)—Diet of Guben (1374)—Brandenburg incorporated with Bohemia—Charles IV. Regent of Brandenburg—Death of Charles, 1378—Wenceslaus elected Emperor—Sigismund becomes Margrave of Brandenburg—Condition of the Mark under Jobst—Negotiations of Sigismund with the Burgrave of Nuremberg—Frederick VI. of Zollern purchases the Mark—Council of Constance (1414)—Frederick publicly recognized Kurfürst of Brandenburg—Development of the Reformed Doctrines in Germany—Career and Death of John Huss (1415).

On the death of the Emperor Louis, Charles, Margrave of Moravia, son of the Bohemian King John, became undisputed Emperor of Germany, with the title of Charles IV. As we have already seen, he had signed a humiliating capitulation with Pope Clement VI., by which the German Empire

was placed at the feet of the ambitious and haughty Pontiff. As the tool of the Papal policy, he had been compelled to serve under the French monarch in his wars with Edward III. of England. For this and other reasons the German princes were at first unwilling to confirm his election. Some of them even offered the imperial sceptre to Edward III., the conqueror at Crecy, who however prudently declined the doubtful honour.

The new Emperor almost immediately after his election resolved on the destruction of the Wittelsbach family, and in conjunction with Duke Rudolf of Saxe-Wittenberg, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, instigated a miller named Jacob Rehbock to personate the deceased Margrave Waldemar. Some mystery seems to have existed with reference to his death, and the enemies of the Wittelsbachers circulated rumours that Waldemar was still alive, and that in the garb of a pilgrim he had been visiting the holy places in Palestine. The pretender, Jacob Rehbock, had, it appears, been a confidential servant of the deceased Margrave, and was intimately acquainted with the affairs of his master, to whom he bore a striking resemblance. Accordingly in 1347 the pretender made his appearance in Brandenburg disguised as a pilgrim, and announced himself as Waldemar, the former ruler of Brandenburg, supposed to have been dead nearly thirty years. The pretender declared that

he had wandered in Palestine to atone for his sins, and to expiate for the great offence of having married his own cousin Agnes, and that he himself circulated the report of his death. He also speciously pretended that it was not his intention to resume sovereign power, but simply to ask his subjects to remain faithful to his successor.

In 1348 Rehbock, having gained many partisans, repaired to the Court of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, by whose advice he assumed the title of Regent of Brandenburg.

The position of Louis now became precarious, as both the Emperor Charles and the Pope espoused the cause of the impostor, who found himself sufficiently strong to take forcible possession of the Altmark and Priegnitz, whilst the Pomeranians occupied the Neumark and Uckermark. Three towns alone remained faithful to the Margrave, Brieuzen, Spandau, and Frankfort.

The Emperor now advanced at the head of a large army into Brandenburg, and Louis was compelled to retire to the town of Frankfort. Meanwhile the Emperor Charles bestowed Brandenburg on the false Waldemar as a fief of the empire, and issued an imperial edict calling upon the inhabitants of Brandenburg to acknowledge Waldemar as their ruler.

But the Margrave Louis was not deserted by all his friends. The Kurfürsts, who still cherished his father's memory, now resolved to set up a rival

Emperor in the person of Günther, Count of Schwartzenburg, a prince of great military reputation and a staunch friend of the deceased Emperor.

The energetic action of the Wittelsbachers soon brought about a reaction in favour of the Margrave. His brother, Louis the Roman, raised a large army in Bavaria and regained possession of the Alt Mark and Priegnitz, and many of the towns made a voluntary submission.

Charles IV. now proposed terms of reconciliation with the Margrave, and accordingly the two parties came to a compromise, by which the Emperor agreed to renounce the cause of the false Walde-mar and restore Louis to all his possessions, whilst Count Günther resigned his claim to the imperial crown on receiving the sum of 20,000 marks.

At a meeting held shortly afterwards at Bautzen, the pretender was proved to have been the servant of the deceased Margrave, and the whole imposture was publicly exposed.

The varying fortunes which the Margrave Louis had experienced now determined him to pass the remainder of his days in retirement, and at a meeting at Luckau, on the Spree, in 1351, he transferred to his brothers Louis the Roman and Otho, surnamed the Blotched, all his lands and possessions in Brandenburg, after which he retired to his patrimonial territory in the Tyrol, where he was much respected. In 1359 he was remarried to Margaret

Maultasche, as the Emperor Charles had obtained the Papal sanction to his marriage. The Margrave died in 1361 at Munich without issue.

#### LOUIS II., SURNAMED THE ROMAN.

Louis II. was born at Rome in 1328. Although a generous and peace-loving ruler, he is accused of having persecuted the Jews, whom, on the advice of his councillors, he expelled from the country.

Under the rule of Waldemar they had been greatly protected, as being loyal and peaceable subjects who had greatly increased the trade of the country. But their wealth had excited the jealousy of the priests and the poorer classes. On the pretence of having poisoned the wells they were expelled from the country, and all their property confiscated for the benefit of their oppressors.

Prussian writers have attempted to justify this act of inhumanity on the part of the Margrave, by insinuating that the false Waldemar had secretly excited the people against the Jews, with the hope that the Margrave would oppose their persecution, and so lose favour with his subjects.

In 1356 Louis was summoned to attend the Imperial Reichstag, at which the Emperor Charles IV. issued the celebrated "Golden Bull," so called from its being enclosed in a golden case. By this imperial decree the number of Kurfürsts was definitively reduced to seven, viz., the four temporal electors of Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate,



and the three spiritual electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves.

The power of the Kurfürsts was also considerably increased, for they were made almost independent sovereign princes, and exercised the "jus de non evocando," which deprived their subjects of the right of appeal to the Emperor. Further, the election of a new Emperor was to be decided by a majority of the Kurfürsts, any one of whom could propose his own election.

During the absence of the Margrave the peace of Brandenburg appears to have been greatly disturbed by the daring feats of banditti under the leadership of a certain celebrated robber, nicknamed the "Devil." So great was the terror of his name that the important town of Salzwedel acknowledged him as ruler.

This lawless state of things did not last long, for on the return of the Kurfürst the brigands were one by one arrested and executed.

In 1360 Otho, surnamed the Blotched, became joint ruler of Brandenburg, but Louis really retained the supremacy. Unfortunately for the Margravate, just at a time when a regular government was being introduced, dissensions arose in the Wittelsbach family. They originated as follows:—

Louis I. died in 1361, and his son Meinhard in 1363 without issue, and, in accordance with former arrangements still in force, Upper Bavaria was to return to the Kurfürsts of Brandenburg, namely, to

Louis II. and Otho. Their brother Stephen, Duke of Lower Bavaria, however, now laid claim to and seized Upper Bavaria.

Charles IV., ever ready to increase the power of his house, took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and, after having done his utmost to widen the breach between the brothers, came forward as mediator, and induced them to come to a compromise, which was effected in 1363, the Emperor skilfully managing to get himself and his son Wenceslaus and their issue included in the treaty of succession.

By this arrangement they were to come into possession of Brandenburg in the event of Louis the Roman and Otho dying without legitimate heirs. In 1365 the former died without issue, and as Otho was not disposed to undertake the burden of government, he appointed a Stadtholder.

Otho the Blotched became sole Kurfürst in 1365, and ruled until 1373. Total incapacity was personified in this prince. He was by nature weak, indolent, extravagant, and immoral. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he left the government of the country to those who supplied him with the means of self-gratification.

• The once-flourishing territory of the Askanian family now became the scene of misery and oppression. The Kurfürst's unprincipled advisers enriched themselves at the expense of the country, and he in consequence was forced to sell Lower Lusatia to

Charles IV., in 1368, for 21,000 marks and 22,886 Bohemian groschen.

The events which were taking place in Brandenburg gave Charles IV. the idea that he would shortly reap the fruit of his policy, by destroying the power of the Wittelsbach family. He had managed to obtain the most unbounded influence over the dissolute and weak Kurfürst, and he went so far as to persuade Otho to acknowledge him as regent for six years. But Otho, like most men of his character, was naturally knavish, and the princes of Bavaria, by their emissaries, easily induced him to declare the arrangement with reference to the right of succession to Brandenburg of the Emperor and his son null and void, securing it moreover for his brother Stephen and his sons.

The Emperor was at this time unable to oppose the combination of the Wittelsbach family, being hampered by a war in which he was entangled with King Lewis of Hungary, whom, to add still more to his difficulties, the Dukes of Bavaria had joined; but, luckily for him, a fresh war broke out between the Turks and the Hungarians. This enabled him to collect a sufficient number of troops to overpower his opponents, and in the year 1373 he became possessed of the entire Mittelmark. Otho now becoming alarmed forsook his brothers and met the Emperor at Furstenwalde, a town situated near Frankfort, close to the right bank of the Spree. Here, on the 15th of August, 1373, he

came to the following arrangement:—He was to abdicate in favour of Charles's three sons, Wenceslaus, Sigismund, and John, the Emperor making him Grand Chamberlain and giving him some towns in the Palatinate. Besides this, Otho received a large sum of money in gold, and the Emperor presented him with a year's income in advance. Otho now retired to Wolfstein, where he died in 1379.

## WENCESLAUS.

Wenceslaus was only twelve years of age when Otho died. The Emperor Charles, with a view to the aggrandisement of his family, declared himself guardian of his son and Regent of Brandenburg. His first object was the formation of a small regular force, composed of the mercenaries of Otho's army. He next proceeded by wise and enlightened reforms to gain the affection of his subjects.

In a very short time he had acquired such popularity that the Brandenburgers were induced to allow themselves to be incorporated as a province of Bohemia. This took place in 1374, at the Diet of Guben, a town situated on the right bank of the Neisse.

The constant intestine struggles which had been going on in Brandenburg had enabled many of its nobility to make themselves partly independent. These Burgraves were in the habit of levying contributions on the inhabitants, and it was only after a series of desperate struggles that

Charles's small force was enabled to bring these robber-nobles to obedience.

During the rule of Otho the judges and their subordinates had introduced a system of gross venality. To counteract this, Charles was in the habit of visiting all parts of Brandenburg to see justice administered under his own direction. He also constantly took his seat at the Supreme Court at Tangermünde, where he heard in person the appeals of the most humble of his subjects. About this time he abolished ordeal by fire and water.

One of his most important acts was rendering the Moldau navigable, by which Bohemian traffic could be introduced. He also established dépôts and markets at Tangermünde and Frankfort for the collecting of produce and merchandise transported along the Elbe and Oder, and erected numerous public buildings to give an impetus to employment.

Before the death of the Emperor, Wenceslaus was declared King of the Romans, and it was arranged that the second son Sigismund should succeed to the Margravate of Brandenburg. The Emperor Charles IV. died in November, 1378. Although of an ambitious character, he was yet a wise and great monarch, and when he expired Germany was enjoying an amount of prosperity such as it had rarely before experienced.

Wenceslaus now became Emperor, with the additional title of King of Bohemia; Sigismund

obtained the Kurmark, and Johann received the Neumark.

Sigismund was only ten years of age when he succeeded his brother. He had been betrothed to Maria, daughter of the powerful King Louis of Hungary, with the ultimate object of acquiring that kingdom and Poland.

On his marriage with the princess, Sigismund took up his residence in Hungary, and left Brandenburg to be governed by a Stadtholder, a measure which soon reduced the unfortunate province to the same condition as under Otho. Added to this, the robber-nobles again became the terror of the country.

Sigismund only visited the Kurmark twice. The disputes in which he was constantly engaged with the Hungarians, Poles, and Turks determined him to pledge Brandenburg to the Margraves of Moravia, Jobst and Procopius, these princes advancing the money only for the purpose of plundering its unfortunate inhabitants.

Jobst proceeded in person to Brandenburg to superintend the levying of exactions on his miserable subjects, for his brother appears to have allowed him to assume the sole reins of government. After having acquired a considerable amount of money he retired, only to return when he required fresh funds. The country was regularly farmed out to a set of desperadoes, the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg in addition availing themselves

of these disorders to invade the Mark and devastate it.

Finding that no more money was to be obtained from his impoverished subjects, he returned to Bohemia, leaving Brandenburg to its fate, when the inhabitants, with those of Spandau and Berlin, took advantage of his absence to form an alliance for mutual protection against the exactions of the nobility.

Jobst, who was now in great want of money, fearing to return to Brandenburg, pledged the Kurmark to his brother-in-law William, the one-eyed Margrave of Meissen, who immediately set to work to restore order, and in a very short time something like prosperity began to dawn.

Jobst, however, perceiving a fresh chance of continuing his exactions, raised a sufficient sum to redeem the Kurmark, and returned in 1398, reducing before long Brandenburg to such a condition that the Altmark formed an alliance with the Dukes of Lüneburg and Saxe-Lauenburg for protection. About 1409 he left Brandenburg, and died two years after at Brünn, in Moravia, without issue, the Kurmark returning into the hands of Sigismund, who repaired to Berlin and received the oath of allegiance. Here he promised to reside as much as possible in the country, but as soon as he had raised a considerable sum of money he retired to Hungary.

Shortly after, his necessities forced him to enter

into negotiations with the rich Burgrave of Nuremberg, who had previously assisted him in his financial difficulties.

The Emperor offered to pledge the whole of Brandenburg if the Burgrave would make him a further advance on the amount due. The transaction was arranged, and the Emperor, in July, 1411, at Ofen, pledged the Kurmark of Brandenburg to Frederick VI., Burgrave of Nuremberg.

On the arrival of the latter in the Kurmark it became evident, from the unsettled state of the country, that unless the strong arm of military force was at once employed, order could never be restored. The Burgrave, who was a man of great energy, instituted without delay severe measures against the nobles. A revolt followed, headed by the leading members of the powerful families of Quitzow and Putlitz, who were joined by a considerable number of robber-nobles, and the insurgents were assisted by the Dukes of Pomerania. Frederick, who had only a small force with him, marched against them, but was defeated in 1412; but being not long after reinforced by a considerable number of troops from Franconia, and with the assistance of the Kurfürst of Saxony, the Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the Archbishop of Madgeburg, he again took the field. On the refusal of the insurgents and the Dukes of Pomerania to lay down their arms, Frederick and his allies attacked and totally routed them.



The nobles fled to their strongholds, which Frederick successively reduced, we are told, by the aid of a 24-pound piece of artillery. The Emperor now requiring his presence, Frederick was obliged to leave his dominions, and, Dietrich von Quitzow returning, a fresh revolt broke out. The Burgrave, however, repairing to the scene of the revolt, defeated him and restored order. On the death, in exile, of this unruly noble, Frederick returned to his family all his domains.

Sigismund, who was always in want of money, had again been in negotiation with the Burgrave for fresh advances, and had received 50,000 gold gulden; but as he still wanted 250,000, he offered to sell Brandenburg outright.

To this Frederick agreed, and accordingly the Burgrave was publicly invested with the dignity of Kurfürst and appointed Grand Chamberlain at the Council of Constance (1414), which the Emperor Sigismund had summoned to put an end to the schism in the Papacy, and to settle the religious difficulties which had arisen in Bohemia in consequence of the adoption of the doctrines of Wycliffe by John Huss and his disciples.

As the Reformed movement in Germany enabled the House of Hohenzollern to take a high rank among the rulers of Germany, we cannot conclude the chapter without giving some account of the causes which led to the spread of Protestant doctrines over a great part of the Continent.

With the accession of Sigismund began a stormy period in the history of Germany, in consequence of the great progress which the Reformed movement had already made throughout Europe.

In Bohemia the spirit of reform was represented by the renowned John Huss, who followed in the footsteps of our own countryman, Wycliffe. In England there had long been a growing disaffection towards the Papacy, and this had continued to increase on the Popes taking up their seat at Avignon and becoming subservient to the Kings of France.

The College of Cardinals consisted almost exclusively of Frenchmen, and vacant benefices in England were often filled with foreigners, who intrigued in the interest of their own country. Moreover, the corruptions of the Church and the arrogant assumptions of the priests had begun to awaken men's minds to the necessity of a reformation, not only in England, but in various parts of Europe, more especially in Bohemia, where the Waldenses had penetrated and disseminated their doctrines.

The first attempts at practical reform were commenced in Bohemia and England almost contemporaneously—in the former country by Conrad von Waldhausen, Canon of the Cathedral of Prague, and in England by John Wycliffe, the father of the English Reformation.

This great divine was at first Chaplain of Edward III., and was one of those who advised the

King to refuse the demand of Pope Urban V. for thirty-three years' arrears of the tribute which King John had bound himself to pay to the Roman See.

Wycliffe, moreover, vehemently attacked the mendicant orders, and exposed the abuses which had grown up in the Church.

In 1374 he was sent by King Edward to Bruges, together with several other divines, to confer with the Papal envoys with reference to certain grievances of the English Church.

It appears that during his stay on the Continent Wycliffe made himself more intimately acquainted with the abuses of the Romish Church, for on his return he declaimed in the most vigorous language against the Pope, whom he denounced as "Anti-Christ, the proud worldly priest of Rome."

He further inveighed against the arrogance and luxury of the prelates, the ignorance of the priests, and the abuse of the privilege of sanctuary to shelter notorious criminals. But Wycliffe soon encountered the opposition of the priestly party, who in July, 1377, drew up nineteen articles of accusation against him, which were submitted to Pope Gregory XI., who forthwith addressed Bulls to the King and the Primate of England, calling upon them to arrest the outspoken and intrepid Reformer.

Unfortunately just at this period King Edward III. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II., a mere boy, who had no idea of

the necessity of checking Papal ascendancy, so that the clergy began to acquire more power than ever.

Early in 1378 Wycliffe was summoned to the Archbishop's Chapel in Lambeth to answer the nineteen charges against him. It is said that a mob of Londoners favourable to the Reformer forcibly entered the chapel and broke up the meeting of prelates.

After replying to the charges against him in three tracts, Wycliffe published a series of pamphlets, denouncing the system of indulgences and the abuses of the Romish Church. He exposed the folly of reliance upon the saints, denied the necessity of confession, and attacked the priests, more especially the monks, canons, and friars, for leading idle and luxurious lives. Wycliffe died suddenly towards the end of 1384, but his writings were disseminated far and wide, more especially in Bohemia, in consequence of the marriage of King Richard II. with Anne, daughter of Charles of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia. The result of this matrimonial alliance was that young English nobles visited the Bohemian capital, and the writings of Wycliffe found their way to the University of Prague, where they attracted the attention of a young divine named Huss, who became a disciple of the English Reformer, and succeeded in gathering around him a large body called, after him, the Hussites.

John Huss was born in 1369, in the village of Hussinecz, on the frontiers of Bavaria. After a

successful career as a student at the University of Prague, he was appointed preacher of a chapel called Bethlehem, and subsequently confessor to the Queen of Wenceslaus.

As a preacher John Huss distinguished himself by his vehemence against the vices of the clergy, whom he charged with avarice, luxury, selfishness, and ambition, and denounced for exacting bribes and holding pluralities. The vehement language of the Bohemian Reformer soon raised up a host of bitter enemies, especially at the University, where, in 1403, his opponents drew up forty-five propositions ascribed to Wycliffe, which were publicly condemned, and their condemnation was endorsed by Pope Innocent VII., who called upon the Archbishop of Prague to suppress the growing heresy. Accordingly the archbishop ordered all copies of Wycliffe's writings to be given up for examination and correction, forbidding any one to lecture on them. Notwithstanding the opposition of the priestly party, John Huss succeeded in getting himself chosen Rector of the Bohemian University in October, 1409, through his influence with Wenceslaus, who had altered the constitution of that learned body by a decree that the Bohemian members of the University should in future have three votes, and the other nations collectively one vote only.

The Bohemian students had all adopted the tenets of John Huss, whilst those from Saxony, Bavaria, and Poland were opposed to them. A violent contest

soon arose, which ended in the sudden departure from the University of all the foreign professors and students to their own countries, where they established rival universities at Leipzig, Ingolstadt, and Cracow.

On the news reaching Rome, Pope Alexander V. addressed a Bull to Archbishop Zbynko, calling upon him to publicly condemn the errors of the arch-heretic Wycliffe, and to forbid all preaching in private chapels, which prohibition was specially directed against John Huss. The archbishop acted up to his instructions with such zeal that he ordered all copies of Wycliffe's writings to be delivered up, and, in utter disregard of the protest of the University, caused them all to be committed to the flames within the precincts of his palace while the *Te Deum* was being chanted. A few days after Huss and his adherents were solemnly excommunicated.

Prague now became the scene of great excitement. The cathedral services were interrupted by the partisans of John Huss, and the streets of the city became scenes of violence, ending sometimes in bloodshed.

In 1410 Pope John XXIII., on succeeding to the pontificate, sent commissioners to inquire into the disturbances in Bohemia, and summoned John Huss to appear before him at Bologna.

Acting on the advice of his friends, Huss refused to appear in person, but despatched advocates to plead his cause. The Pontiff, however, would not

receive his representatives, some of whom were even imprisoned. Meanwhile the discourses of Huss and his friends excited the greatest enthusiasm amongst the students of Prague, who manifested their sympathy with the rector by escorting him home. They also caused a Papal Bull to be paraded through the streets of Prague fixed to the breasts of a prostitute, who, seated in a cart was conducted through the town to the public gallows, under which the Bull was burnt amidst the jeers of the multitude.

In 1413 Huss was again excommunicated and anathematized for not having obeyed the citations to the Papal Court.

The Archbishop was, moreover, ordered to pronounce an interdict against all Prague, and Bethlehem Chapel, where John Huss preached, was condemned to be demolished. Huss protested against the condemnation, and caused the protest to be engraved on the walls of Bethlehem Chapel, but by the advice of the King he now withdrew from Prague, and lived for a time in retirement as the guest of Bohemian nobles who favoured his views. He still, however, continued preaching against the corruption and practices of the Papacy, and his pen was actively employed in the production of theological treatises, exposing the errors which had crept into the Church.

In the mean time the Catholic Church was distracted by a great schism, in consequence of the contentions of Pope Benedict XIII. and Gre-

gory XII., the rival claimants for the pontificate. The Council of Pisa, which met in 1409, declared both Popes to be deposed, and elected in their stead the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, who assumed the title of Alexander V. Alexander V. died suddenly in the following year, and was succeeded by Balthazar Cossa, who took the name of John XXIII.

As the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., still maintained their claims to the Papacy, there were now three rival claimants.

The empire was also similarly distracted, for on the death of Rupert, in 1410, some of the electors wished to restore the deposed Wenceslaus; some were in favour of his brother, Sigismund, King of Hungary; and a third party espoused the cause of Jobst, Marquis of Moravia.

The latter, however, died soon after, and Wenceslaus having withdrawn his claim, Sigismund was elected Emperor who, for some time, was engaged in a war with the Venetians for the possession of Dalmatia, but having in 1413 concluded a truce of five years, began to direct his attention to the affairs of the Church.

At the suggestion of Pope John XXIII., Sigismund resolved to summon a General Council. Accordingly in November, 1413, the Emperor issued a citation for a Council to meet at Constance, and invited the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., to attend in person.



In the following year the Council was opened with great solemnity, and consisted of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, twenty-two cardinals, twenty archbishops, nearly a hundred bishops, two hundred and fifty doctors, and a great number of secular princes.

Among other questions the religious strife in Bohemia engaged the attention of the Council, and, under the promise of a safe conduct from the Emperor, John Huss was induced to repair in person to Constance to plead his cause before the assembled prelates. Huss had no sooner arrived in Constance than he was decoyed into the Pope's residence, whence he was removed in custody and conveyed to a dungeon in a Dominican convent. After a trial of three days, at which he scarcely obtained a hearing, the bold Reformer was condemned to be burned.

The martyr on being bound to the stake refused to recant, but remained firm and unshaken in his convictions, and breathed his last praying for the forgiveness of his enemies.

His burnt ashes and clothes were thrown into the Rhine, but his martyrdom kindled the flame of patriotism in his countrymen, who continued the struggle during the next thirty years.

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**PEDIGREE**  
**OF THE**  
**HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN,**  
**TILL THE ACCESSION OF FREDERICK VI., BURGRAVE OF NUREMBERG,**  
**TO THE RANK OF**  
**KURFÜRST OF BRANDENBURG.**



## THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

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BURCHARD and WEZEL of Zollern.

Died about 1061.

Emperors of Germany : Henry III. and Henry IV.

ACCORDING to Berthold of Constance, who continued the chronicles of the old annalist, Hermann Contractus, the first representatives of the House of Hohenzollern were Burchard and Wezel of Zollern. Very little is handed down concerning these two princes, who, without doubt, were brothers, and probably descendants of the old Counts Berangar Everard, and Hesson, who ruled over Sulich and Zollern in the latter part of the tenth century.

The Counts of Zollern appear to have taken a prominent part in the unfortunate struggles between the Emperor and his nobles.

During the minority of Henry IV., Suabia was distracted by intestine dissensions, although the Empress Agnes ruled with firmness and discretion, and appointed men of experience to administer the affairs of the empire. Through the arbitrary conduct of the Bishop of Augsburg, the nobles became disaffected, and conspired to seize the person of the young Emperor. Ultimately Henry was crowned by Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, who for some time retained the reins of government in his own hands.

On attaining his majority Henry asserted his authority, and dismissed from the Court all the ecclesiastics who filled the high offices of state; but in course of time he became embroiled in disputes with the Holy See as well as with his nobles.

Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) having summoned the Emperor to Rome, Henry assembled a Diet at Worms, where it was decided to renounce obedience to the Pope, who thereupon placed the Empire under the ban. Dukes Rudolf, Berthold, and Guelph, who had for some time secretly sided with the Pontiff, now threw off their allegiance and resolved to convoke an assembly of all the princes of the empire at Tribur for the election of a new sovereign.

Henry on his part having tried all means to conciliate his opponents, at length repaired to the Pope at Canossa, and in the most humiliating

manner did penance, on which Gregory revoked the excommunication.

It is related that on his journey to Italy to implore the Pope to withdraw the interdict, Henry was accompanied by his wife, infant son, and a solitary knight, who, according to a Suabian chronieler, was Frederick of Buren, the ancestor of the Hohenstauffen family.

The Counts of Zollern seem to have remained faithful to the cause of the Emperor, and it is conjectured that they lost a part of their estates in consequence of their fidelity to the unfortunate sovereign.

In course of time, however, the Zollern family absorbed the domains of the Counts of Sigmaringen, Veringen, and Gammertingen, besides making considerable acquisitions of territory in Suabia, either by mortgage, marriage, or political intrigues.

The principalities of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen and Hohenzollern-Hechingen, now united to Prussia, formed a continuous tract, enclosed between the states of Wurtemberg and Baden.

Hechingen is situated on the river Starzel, a tributary of the Neckar. Near Hechingen is the ancient castle of Hohenzollern, the cradle of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

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**ADALBERT and FREDERICK, Counts of Zollern.**

Died about 1120.

Emperors of Germany: Henry IV. and Henry V.

Adalbert and Frederick are the first representatives of the family to whom the chroniclers assign the title of Counts of Zollern, but it is not known in what way they were related to Burchard and Wezel, who lived about thirty years before.

In the year 1095 we find that Count Adalbert of Zollern founded the Benedictine monastery of Alpenbach, in the valley of Kurzig, situated in the Black Forest, where he spent the remainder of his life. It appears that this religious endowment subsequently passed from the Zollern family, and in 1251 became the property of the Dukes of Teck. Count Frederick of Zollern, probably the brother of the founder of the monastery of Alpenbach, died in 1125, about the same time as Henry V., Emperor of Germany.

Frederick of Zollern by his marriage with Udhilde had five children, Counts Egino, Godfrey, and Albert, and the Countesses Luitgarde and Udhilde. By a former marriage with the Countess of

Urach he had three sons, Frederick, Burchard, and Ulric of Zollern.

In 1103 Count Frederick gave the possession of Waldhausen to the convent of Hirschau in exchange for the estate of Deilingen, and in 1111 he visited Spires in the suite of the Emperor Henry V. The last time that we hear of him is in the year 1115, when he was engaged in a lawsuit concerning the domains of Grasenau, claimed by the convent of Reichenbach, in the Black Forest.

According to the records of the Benedictine convent of Zweifalten, Count Frederick was surnamed "Monte." From the same source we learn that he acquired considerable property by his marriage with the Countess d'Urach, part of which he bestowed on the monastic establishments of Zweifalten and Weissenau.

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**FREDERICK, Count of Zollern.**

Died about 1145.

Emperors of Germany : Lothair and Conrad III.

Frederick, eldest son of Count Frederick of Zollern, succeeded his father in the capacity of protector of the monastery of Alpenbach, and as head of the family. He first appears conjointly with his brothers Burchard, Egino, and Godfrey, in connexion with the founding of the monastery of Salem. The documents relating to this affair show that the Counts of Zollern took precedence of the Counts of Würtemberg and Hapsburg, as well as of the Count Palatine of Tübingen. From henceforward the Zollern Counts appear to have had much influence at the Imperial Court, and Count Frederick, we are told, accompanied King Lothair on his journey to Italy to receive the imperial diadem at the hands of Pope Anaclete II.

In November, 1133, Count Frederick signed an imperial decree concerning the monastery of Interlaken in Switzerland.

We also find Frederick of Zollern in the suite of the Emperor Conrad III. In an imperial charter

of 1139, relating to the monastery of Denkendorf, Count Frederick figures as witness, and again takes precedence of the Counts of Württemberg and several other illustrious princes. The names of Guelph and Ghibelline were first used about this time, during the siege of the castle of Weinsberg by the Emperor Conrad III.

Very little is known concerning the brothers of Count Frederick. Count Ulric appears to have been Abbot of Reichenau. Count Godfrey is sometimes spoken of as the Count of Zimbern, in consequence of having married the Countess of Zimbern. We find him, in 1153, in the suite of the Emperor Barbarossa in his expedition against Lombardy.

During the sojourn of Conrad III. at Constance, Frederick Count of Zollern appears to have been in the Emperor's retinue, and to have acted as a witness to several imperial edicts and charters.

As regards the precise date of his marriage, there is some disagreement among the chroniclers of the period. It is, however, generally admitted that he had several children, the eldest of whom, Count Berthold, succeeded to the title and family estates on the death of his father.

The exact date of the death of Count Frederick is unknown, but no mention is made of him after the year 1145.

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BERTHOLD, Count of Zollern.

Died about 1188.

Emperor of Germany: Frederick I.

Count Berthold appears for the first time in 1160, as a witness in an act of Frederick I. respecting the monastery of Salem.

In 1162 the Emperor Frederick I. returned from his expedition into Italy, and presided at the Diet of Constance. He was about to undertake a fresh expedition into Lombardy when war broke out in the Duchy of Suabia, in which the Count of Zollern distinguished himself as an ally of Duke Frederick of Suabia against the Guelphs.

In 1175 a petty war arose between Berthold of Zollern and Duke Berthold of Zaeringen, who had fought under the banner of the Duke of Guelph, and who had now invaded the district of Furstenburg, belonging to the Zollern family.

During the intestine struggles in Germany the different members of the Zollern family were not always ranged under the same banner, nor did they remain faithful to the same cause. In fact, we find Berthold and Frederick, although at first steadfast

adherents of the Emperor, afterwards siding with Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria. Subsequently we hear of them again at Constance, in the suite of the Emperor, who had convoked an assembly of the princes of the empire in 1183.

Count Berthold is also frequently mentioned in conjunction with Count Godfrey of Zollern. In one case as witnesses to an imperial charter confirming the privileges of the monastery of Maulbronn. On another occasion, during the visit of Frederick Barbarossa to Spire, they are spoken of as councillors of the Emperor. At this period the Dukes of Suabia were Frederick, Conrad, and Philip of Hohenstauffen.

In an edict of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, concerning the monastery of Salem, we find the name of Count Berthold as witness together with that of Count Frederick, who succeeded to his title and estates.

Count Berthold died probably in 1187 or 1188. The exact date is unknown.

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FREDERICK,  
Count of Zollern and First Burgrave of Nuremberg.  
Died about 1197.

Emperors of Germany : Frederick I. and Henry VI.

Frederick, Count of Zollern, who subsequently became the first Burgrave of Nuremberg by his marriage with the Countess of Rackz, heiress of Conrad, Count of Rackz and Burgrave of Nuremberg, has been already mentioned in connexion with Count Berthold, with whom he was associated as a witness in an edict of Henry the Lion concerning the monastery of Salem, in 1171. In 1188 we find him in the suite of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, whom he accompanied in his expedition to the Holy Land.

With the marriage of Count Frederick with the heiress of the Burgrave of Nuremberg begins a new epoch in the history of the House of Hohenzollern, for from this period the Counts of Zollern exercise considerable influence in the affairs of the empire, and gradually raise themselves to the first rank among the princes of Germany. By his marriage with the daughter of the Burgrave of Nuremberg, Frederick had two sons, who inherited his domains, with the title of Counts of Zollern and Burgraves of Nuremberg.

FREDERICK and CONRAD,  
Counts of Zollern and Burgraves of Nuremberg.  
Died in 1218 and 1230.

Emperors of Germany: Otho IV. and Frederick II.

Count Frederick of Zollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, figures among the nobles of the empire who repaired to Worms in 1198 to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor.

We hear nothing of his brother Conrad until 1204, when he appears as a witness to a charter concerning the monastery of St. Ulric. During the sanguinary struggles which took place about this time, Count Frederick of Zollern continually took part in the councils of the Emperor.

During Otho's expedition into Italy, Count Frederick of Zollern remained in Germany, and in 1210 he affixed his signature to a contract between the Countess Matilda of Hohenburg and the Bishop of Ratisbon. However, his brother Conrad accompanied Otho across the Alps.

Count Frederick married the Countess of Abenberg and had three children, viz.,

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FREDERICK, who succeeded his father as Count Zollern ;

SOPHIA, who married Count Urach-Fribourg ; and

CONRAD, who succeeded his uncle Conrad as Burgrave of Nuremberg.

On the death of Frederick and Conrad there became two branches of the Zollern family :

1. ZOLLERN-SUABIAN ;
2. ZOLLERN-NUREMBERG.

The former was represented by Frederick, with the title of Count of Zollern ; the latter by Conrad, with the title of Burgrave of Nuremberg.

According to an entry in the records of the monastery of Heilsbronn, Count Frederick died in 1218.

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FREDERICK, Count of Zollern.

Died about 1253.

Emperor of Germany : Frederick II.

During Frederick's minority his uncle Conrad governed. The first mention of his name appears in a charter, dated 1226, in which Henry of Reichenau bestows his fief of Echterdingen on the abbey.

Frederick married the Countess Elizabeth of Hapsburg, by whom he had two children—Count Frederick, surnamed the Illustrious, and the Countess Sophia, who married Conrad of Fribourg.

There seems also to have existed another branch of the Zollern family, who styled themselves Counts of Hohenburg. In a document of the year 1225, Albert of Hohenburg signs himself son of the late Count Burchard of Zollern, and uses the seal of his brother, Count Burchard of Hohenburg ; and it is presumed that he is the person referred to in a poem composed by John of Würtemberg, with the title of "William, Duke of Austria," in which the poet eulogizes the Count of Zollern-Hohenburg for his conduct during the Crusades under Frederick Barbarossa.



**FREDERICK THE ILLUSTRIOUS, Count of Zollern.**

Died in 1289.

Emperor of Germany : Rudolf of Hapsburg.

Count Frederick of Zollern surnamed the Illustrious, appears in 1253, as protector of the old monastery of Beuron, and he is styled "Vir Illustris Fredericus, Comes de Zollern."

In the Suabian war Count Frederick took an active part, and in 1256 we find him besieging the castle of Baldeg. Count Frederick the Illustrious, however, ultimately determined to withdraw from political life, and founded the monastery of Stettin, at the foot of the hill, and castle of Hohenzollern, which henceforth received the last remains of the members of the Hohenzollern family.

Frederick appears to have been engaged in repeated hostilities with his cousins of the House of Hohenburg. At length the Emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between the two families of Zollern and Hohenburg, and the agreement was cemented by a marriage between the daughter of Count Albert of Hohenburg and the grandson of Count Frederick.

Count Frederick the Illustrious died in 1289. He was the first whose ashes were deposited in the family vault in the monastery of Stettin. Frederick was much respected by his subjects, for he united the dignity of a prince with the clemency of a father. Notwithstanding his frequent hostilities with the House of Hohenburg, he increased his domains and his power considerably. He left three sons, the eldest,

FREDERICK, surnamed the Knight;

FREDERICK, Provost of the Chapter of Augsburg;  
and

FREDERICK, Count of Zollern-Schalksbourg, who died in 1377 from the effects of wounds received in the battle of Reutlingen.

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**FREDERICK THE KNIGHT, Count of Zollern.**

Died about 1298.

**FREDERICK, Count of Zollern-Schalksbourg.**

Died about 1302.

**Emperors of Germany : Rudolf of Hapsburg and  
Adolf of Nassau.**

On the death of Frederick the Illustrious, Frederick the Knight and Frederick of Zollern-Schalksbourg divided the territory of Zollern between them. Frederick the Knight received Zollern proper, consisting of the castle of Hohenzollern and the surrounding territory; and his brother had for his share Schalksbourg and Muhlheim.

Frederick the Knight appears to have devoted the greater part of his time to the improvement of his domains and the welfare of his subjects, and is said to have been a faithful adherent of the Emperor.

Frederick married the Princess Cunigunde, daughter of the Margrave Rudolf of Baden, by

whom he had five children, three sons and two daughters. The latter both entered convents; the one as abbess of the convent of Lichtenthal, the other as a nun in the monastery of Stettin. The three sons were :

Count FREDERICK, commonly called the son-in-law  
of the Count of Hohenburg ;

Count FREDERICK PASCAL ; and

Count FREDERICK, Provost of the Chapter of  
Augsburg.

We do not think it necessary to trace the history of the younger branch of Zollern-Schalksbourg, which became extinct with the death of Count Frederick Mulli in 1408.

The castle of Schalksbourg is a ruin, and the domains of the family now form a part of the kingdom of Würtemberg.

Frederick of Zollern-Schalksbourg, also called "Frederick of Merckenberg," married the Countess Udilhilde of Merckenberg, by whom he had two children :

1. Countess UDILHILDE ;

2. Count FREDERICK, surnamed "Merckenberg, junior."

Frederick of Schalksbourg died about the year 1302.

FREDERICK, Count of Zollern.

Died in 1309.

Emperor of Germany: Albert I.

Count Frederick the Knight died about the year 1298, and was succeeded by his eldest son Frederick, who married Euphemia, daughter of the Count of Hohenburg, and hence he is often mentioned as Frederick, "son-in-law of Count Albert of Hohenburg." By his wife he had two sons,

Count FREDERICK and

Count ALBERT, whose names appear but once in the charters of the period.

It would seem that these two young Counts died before their father without issue, as their uncle, Frederick Pascal, inherited the title and estates.

Count Frederick, son-in-law of the Count of Hohenburg, died in 1309.

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FREDERICK PASCAL, Count of Zollern.

Died in 1333.

Emperors of Germany : Henry VII., Frederick of Austria, and Louis of Bavaria.

In the year 1309 Frederick Pascal became ruling Count of Zollern, and after the death of his nephew, Count Frederick, we find him sole possessor of the castle of Hohenzollern. Count Frederick Pascal took part in the war between the Emperor Henry VII. and the Counts of Würtemberg, and distinguished himself by his military exploits. The war lasted three years, and terminated with the defeat of Count Everard of Würtemberg.

In 1313 Henry VII. died, and as his son, John of Bohemia, was very young, the Luxemburg party supported Louis of Bavaria, while the Austrians brought forward Frederick of Austria as a rival candidate. A civil war ensued, in which the Counts of Zollern, Count Frederick Pascal and Count of Zollern-Schalksbourg, fought under the banner of Frederick of Austria.

On the other hand, the younger branch of the Zollern family, viz., the Burgraves of Nuremberg,

sided with Louis of Bavaria, and distinguished themselves at the battle of Mühldorf, 1322, in which Frederick was defeated and taken prisoner. Frederick was afterwards conveyed to the castle of Trausnitz.

On the death of his cousin of Zollern-Schalksburg in 1319, Frederick Pascal assumed the title of chief representative of the illustrious family of Zollern, and, notwithstanding the total defeat of Frederick of Austria, he remained faithful to the House of Hapsburg. Frederick Pascal died 1333, leaving three sons—

Count FREDERICK, surnamed the Black Count,  
who succeeded his father;

Count FREDERICK PASCAL, Canon of the Chapter  
of Augsburg; and

Count FREDERICK, Canon of the Chapter of Stras-  
burg, who afterwards became a layman.

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FREDERICK THE BLACK COUNT, and  
FREDERICK OF STRASBURG, Counts of Hohenzollern.

Died about 1377 or 1378.

Emperors of Germany: Louis of Bavaria and  
Charles IV.

Frederick the Black Count appears for the first time in 1339, in a document concerning the cession of lands in Ofterdingen, although he succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1333.

In 1341 Count Frederick married Adelaide, daughter of Count Burchard of Hohenburg. This matrimonial alliance is another proof of the complete reconciliation between the once hostile Houses of Zollern and Hohenburg.

On the death of Count Frederick Pascal a dispute arose between Frederick and Count Frederick of Zollern-Schalksburg, who claimed the title of head of the House of Zollern. The dispute was, however, settled in 1342 by an amicable arrangement.

In 1344 the Zollern territory was again divided. Count Frederick of Zollern, Canon of the Chapter of Strasburg, having, as already mentioned, quitted



priestly orders, married in 1343 the Countess Marguerite of Hohenburg, of the line of Wildenberg, and shared with his other brother the paternal estate, so that from this period we find two separate branches of the family, viz.,

FREDERICK THE BLACK COUNT and

COUNT FREDERICK OF STRASBURG.

It is probable that the other brother, Count Frederick Pascal, was a party to this arrangement, as we find that he subsequently entered the Order of the Knights of St. John, and received the revenues of the towns of Stettin, Ovingen, Grosselfingen, Weilheim, Hausen, and Hohenstein.

During the first years of the rule of Frederick the Black Count, Zollern enjoyed tranquillity. In 1346 eighteen Counts met in a solemn assembly at Oberndorf, the castle of the Duke of Teck, and solemnly swore to renounce their allegiance to the Emperor Louis, and to support the cause of Charles of Moravia, afterwards styled Charles IV. As the Black Count was one of the eighteen princes, his territory was invaded by Duke Stephen, son of the Emperor, who advanced against the town of Hechingen. Frederick, fearing that resistance would be fruitless, left his capital Hechingen in the hands of the enemy, and betook himself to Charles IV., who was crowned King of Bohemia, September 1, 1347.

In 1350 Count Frederick and his brother, Count Frederick of Strasburg, raised an army to aid the House of Hapsburg against Switzerland, for which they received a considerable sum of money. In the document referring to the matter, the name of HOHENZOLLERN appears for the first time.

In 1362 Count Frederick of Hohenzollern, the Black Count, appears with his brother, Count Frederick of Strasburg, on the occasion of the division of the inheritance of their uncle, Count Frederick of the Chapter of Augsburg. The castle of Homburg, with the villages of Grosselfingen, Ovingen, and Stettin, became the property of Frederick the Black Count, and the remainder was left to Count Frederick of Strasburg, who died about the year 1365. By his marriage with the Countess of Hohenburg, Frederick had several children, viz.,

FREDERICK, surnamed the Young Black Count,  
who died in 1412;

Count PASCAL, surnamed Taegli;

Count FREDERICK, who was Grand Commander  
in the German Order; and

Three Daughters.

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FREDERICK THE YOUNG BLACK COUNT, and  
FREDERICK THE ELDER OF HOHENZOLLERN,  
Counts of Hohenzollern.

Died about 1412.

Emperors of Germany : Wenceslaus and Sigismund.

On the death of Frederick the Black Count there were two representatives of the Zollern family, viz., Frederick the Young Black Count and Frederick the Elder of Strasburg.

Frederick the Young Black Count was a faithful adherent of the House of Hapsburg, and took an active part in the war which the latter waged against the Swiss.

Hostilities were renewed at the commencement of the year 1388. The territory of Hohenzollern suffered very severely from the invasions of Bishop Frederick of Strasburg, who succeeded in making himself master of the town of Hechingen, which he sold to Count Everard of Würtemberg. The Young Black Count and Count Frederick of Hohenzollern exerted all their efforts to prevent their capital falling into the hands of their powerful neighbours, and in the end they succeeded in

obtaining the redemption of the town for 1,300 florins of gold. They undertook to furnish military aid, and to allow free entrance to the castle of Hohenzollern to the Counts of Württemberg for military purposes, for the space of six years. The Counts of Zollern in redeeming their capital renewed the privileges of the inhabitants. The treaty was concluded at Kircham by Frederick the Young Black Count and Count Frederick the Elder of Strasburg, Count Everard of Württemberg, and Count Frederick Cettinger.

The success of the Swiss was taken advantage of by the confederate cities of Suabia and the Rhenish Provinces, which were now joined by several of the territorial nobles, who hoped by this means not only to avert the hostility of the cities, but to obtain protection against the encroachments even of their own order. The cities of the league soon became aggressors, and swore interminable war against the whole body of nobles. Wenceslaus favoured one or other, according to his interest at the moment; but at length he formed a confederation consisting of various princes and cities, the object of which was to restore public peace, and he exacted an oath from both parties that no hostilities should be undertaken before the expiration of a certain period.

Thus, in 1387, Stephen, Duke of Bavaria, Albert, Duke of Austria, and Frederick, Burgrave of Nuremberg, on the part of the princes and nobles, and

deputies from three imperial cities, Ulm, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, on the part of the cities, met at Nuremberg and agreed to prolong the peace to 1390; and, for the more convenient attainment of this object, the country occupied by the members of the confederation was divided into four cantons:

1. Saxony, Upper and Lower;
2. The Rhenish Provinces, from Basle to Holland;
3. Austria, Bavaria, and Suabia;
4. Thuringia and Franconia.

The peace was soon broken by the Duke of Bavaria. To avenge this act Wenceslaus encouraged the cities to take up arms, and the war became general.

The two brothers of Frederick of Hohenzollern were Count Pascal, surnamed Taegli, and Count Frederick, Knight of the Teutonic Order. The latter was at first attached to the person of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order at Brandenburg, but in 1410 he became governor of Balga. He was present at the disastrous battle of Tannenberg, when the Teutonic Knights were defeated by the Poles and Lithuanians; and he was among the few nobles that escaped. Towards the end of the year 1412, he was afterwards raised to the dignity of Grand Comthur, and died at Engelsburg.

As Frederick the Young Black Count died without issue, and his two brothers had never contracted a marriage, the Young Black Count was the last representative of his branch of the family, and on his

death his cousin, Frederick the Elder of Strasburg, became the ruling Count of Zollern. He married the Countess Adelaide of Furstemberg-Haslach, and had by her five sons :

FREDERICK, surnamed Cettinger ;

EITEL FREDERICK ;

FREDERICK, surnamed Æppli ;

FREDERICK, surnamed Fritzli ;

FREDERICK, surnamed Hugeli.

The last three were in priestly orders, and occupied high ecclesiastical posts. Frederick Fritzli became Bishop of Constance.

The two brothers of Count Frederick the Elder of Hohenzollern, Count Pascal the Elder and Count Frederick, Canon of the Chapter of Strasburg, appear often together in the charters of this period ; for Count Frederick, Canon of Strasburg, seems to have taken a leading part in promoting the interests of his House, and was of great service to his brother, the reigning Count, on whose death he was the intimate adviser of his nephews, two of whom, through his influence, became Canons of the Chapter of Strasburg. He died in the year 1410,

his nephews, Count Frederick Œttinger and Count Eitel Frederick, being his heirs.

Among the slain at the battle of Sempach in 1386 was the Count of Furstemberg-Haslach, brother-in-law to Count Frederick the Elder of Hohenzollern. His death occasioned a series of disputes between Count Frederick and the representative of the Furstemberg family concerning the inheritance. It was not till after the death of Count Frederick the Elder of Hohenzollern that an arrangement was made, by which the Countess Adelaide and her sons, Count Frederick Œttinger and Count Eitel Frederick, renounced the fief of Haslach in favour of the Counts of Furstemberg.

At this period the representative of the Zollern-Schalksbourg branch was Count Frederick Mulli, second son of Frederick the Old Knight. In 1391 Count Frederick Mulli sold Mühlheim to the Count of Weitingen, who soon after sold it to the Barons of Enyberg, in whose possession it remained until recently. Several years after Count Mulli sold the rest of the territory to the Counts of Württemberg. In 1385 he married the Countess of Kyburg, daughter of Count Hartmann of Kyburg. His only son, named Frederick, a young man of great promise, died suddenly in the year 1403, in the prime of life.

The following story is told regarding the sale of the estates of Schalksbourg. Count Mulli led a retired and secluded life, and rarely communicated

with his relations of the House of Hohenzollern. At the death of his only son he determined to accompany the remains to the family vaults at Stettin. The funeral *cortége* had to pass close by Hohenzollern. The Counts of Zollern, who were then residing in the castle, gave orders for the garrison to pay funeral honours to the deceased. Unfortunately the drummer forgot to muffle his drum. This so exasperated the bereaved father, who thought it was done for the purpose of manifesting the joy of his relatives on the chance of succeeding to his property, that, on his return home, he sold the whole of the estates of Schalksbourg to the Counts of Württemberg; and thus his domains were alienated from the family of Zollern. Count Frederick Mulli appears to have been a man of a melancholy and unsociable character, and did not care to cultivate the friendship or acquaintance of his illustrious relatives.

About this period three leagues were formed in Suabia, viz., the union of the Lion, that of Saint George, and that of Saint William. The former, of which the Counts of Zollern were members, was the most influential and the most powerful.

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FREDERICK ÆTTINGER and EITEL FREDERICK,  
Counts of Hohenzollern.

Died in 1439 and 1443.

Emperors of Germany: Sigismund and Albert II.

Counts Frederick Ættinger and Eitel Frederick sided with Duke Frederick of Austria, and contracted an alliance with the Suabian towns. Count Frederick was for several years the leading spirit of the Suabian alliance. In 1408, he concluded a convention with the imperial towns, by which he promised to assist them for a period of three years, and offered them the right of entrance to the town of Hechingen and to the castle of Hohenzollern.

Count Frederick Ættinger was so surnamed because he was educated at the Court of the Counts of Ættinger, to whom his father had been much attached. In 1404 Count Frederick Ættinger endowed the monastery of Stettin. Frederick Ættinger married the Countess Anne of Seitz, but had no children.

Count Eitel Frederick, who succeeded him, was a man of a serious disposition, but not less valiant

than his brother on the field of battle. In the year 1406, when peace had been restored, the two brothers renewed their friendly connexions with the Counts of Furstemberg. The two Counts appear together October 15, 1410, when, with Upper and Lower Suabia, they concluded the treaty of Hohenkarpfen to preserve the public peace.

This arrangement did not prevent the two brothers, Frederick Ættinger and Eitel Frederick, having constant disputes about the division of the family estates, and it was only through the mediation of their uncle, Count Frederick of Strasburg, that they were prevented from commencing hostilities against each other. In 1402, conjointly with Frederick the Young Black Count and Count Pascal Taegli, Frederick Ættinger and Eitel Frederick attested the peace of Hohenzollern, which further united the bonds of the family.

About the period of which we are speaking, we find among the vassals of the House of Zollern Henry of Killer, John of Staufenberg, Otho of Hausen, John of Hailfingen, Conrad of Weitingen, John of Weitingen, Henry of Durwangen, and John of Lichtenstein.

During the early part of his reign, Sigismund was mainly assisted in all his enterprises by the Burgraves John and Frederick of Nuremberg, and by Count Everard of Würtemberg, the former having married the sister of the King, and the latter the daughter of the Burgrave John. In the

autumn of 1414 Sigismund visited Suabia, and promised to use his efforts at the Council of Constance for the consolidation of the public peace.

At the Council of Constance, which was summoned about this period, Sigismund invested the Burgrave Frederick of Nuremberg with the Electorate of Brandenburg, in repayment of considerable sums advanced to him. By this accession of rank and territory, the House of Hohenzollern, which had acquired, even before the end of the twelfth century, extensive domains in Franconia, began to exercise considerable influence over a great part of the Continent, and from henceforth played an important part in the history of Germany.

(See Appendix F.)

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**THE EARLY  
HISTORY OF NUREMBERG  
AND OTHER  
LEADING IMPERIAL CITIES OF GERMANY.**



## THE IMPERIAL CITIES.

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PRIOR to the peace of Luneville, Germany possessed 133 free cities, called Reichstädte. A Reichstadt (*civitas imperii*) was a town under the immediate authority of the Emperor, who was represented by an imperial official called a Vogt or Schultheis.

The first mention of the term *civitas imperii* (imperial city) occurs in an edict of the Emperor Frederick II., in which Lubeck was declared a *civitas imperii* in perpetuity. In a later edict, of the year 1287, we find that King Rudolf termed the following places *civitates regni* (royal cities), viz., Frankfort, Friedberg, Wetzlar, Oppenheim, Wesel, and Boppart. All these royal cities subsequently became imperial cities in consequence of the kings of Germany being again raised to the dignity of Emperors.

During the reign of Louis the Bavarian Latin ceased to be the official language, and the imperial

towns were designated in the vernacular "Richsstat."

In course of time the imperial towns acquired, either by purchase or conquest, their independence. Besides the Reichstädte, there were Freistädte, or free towns, the principal being Cologne, Basle, Mayence, Ratisbon, Spire, and Worms.

The free towns appear to have enjoyed the following immunities:—

1. They were exempt from the oath of allegiance to the Emperor.
2. They were not bound to furnish a contingent for any expedition beyond the Alps.
3. They were free from all imperial taxes and duties.
4. They could not be pledged.
5. They were distinguished from the imperial towns by not having the imperial eagle emblazoned on the municipal escutcheon.

In the beginning of the sixth century the free towns were placed on the same footing as the Reichstädte, and the term "Freistadt," or free town, was disused.

The government of the imperial towns was in the hands of a military and a civil governor. The former was styled either Graf, Burgrave, or Vogt (*advocatus villicus*), who was captain of the garrison. He was, moreover, president of the imperial court of justice, which was held every six weeks, all the minor tribunals being under his jurisdiction.

The Schultheis (*scultetus* or *præfectus*) was president of the municipal court and collector of the taxes, and a part of the fines formed the principal source of his salary. These head officials were assisted by a Burgimagister (Burgomaster) and Sheriffs.

On the imperial towns becoming independent, the administration of the town was entrusted to a college of from four to twenty-four persons, according to the population, and the members of this kind of town council were called either Rathsmann, Rathsfreund, or Rathsherr, which means councilman or adviser. The town councillors appear to have selected one or more of their number as presidents, with the title of Rathsmeister, Burgermeister, or Stadtmeister, otherwise Proconsul, Magister Civitas, or Burgimagister.

The town council had the direction of the finances, the collection of taxes, of the police, and public works. The members were generally elected for a period of one year, but frequently the greater number retained their posts for another year.

Occasionally town councillors of repute were elected for life, and they formed a special council, called the "retired council," to distinguish them from the newly elected members.

Besides the above council, we find that the towns had a court of sheriffs consisting of five to eleven members, under the presidency of the Vogt. These sheriffs were generally elected for life, and the loss

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of one of their number was replaced by co-optation. At first the court of sheriffs was inferior to the town council, to which appeal could be made against their decision ; but in course of time, in consequence of their co-optative power, the sheriffs formed an exclusive body, in contrast to the town council, who were elected by the people, and naturally formed a democratic corporation.

These two councils gradually came into collision, which resulted in civic contentions in which the populace supported the town council, and at length the citizens abolished the court of sheriffs altogether, and their functions were discharged by the corporation.

We have already mentioned that many of the imperial towns gained their autonomy either by purchase or force of arms. In like manner we find that others either lost their privileges or voluntarily became subjects of some burgrave or ecclesiastical prince, *e.g.*, Cologne, Worms, and Spire placed themselves under the jurisdiction of their respective archbishops, whereas Altenburg, Chemnitz, and Zwickau were seized by Frederick the Quarrelsome in his war with the Emperor ; whilst others, like Hagenau, Colmar, Landau, and Strasburg, were annexed or torn from the German Empire.

As the imperial towns increased in wealth and power they extended the circle of their authority over the surrounding districts, and, in order to obtain a voice in the affairs of the empire, at length

demanding that the country under their jurisdiction should be represented at the Reichstag (Imperial Diet). To accomplish this, they formed themselves into Bunds or confederations to assert their claims, and succeeded in forcing the Emperor and the princes to allow their representatives to take part in the deliberations of the Diet.

The principal confederations brought into existence by the struggles going on in Germany were the Rhemish and Suabian Bunds, and the Hansa. The latter consisted of upwards of eighty of the principal towns of North Germany, who joined the Hanseatic Confederation, not only for the protection of their commercial and industrial interests, but also as a defence against the arbitrary acts of their own rulers.

At the Diet held at Augsburg in 1474, it appears that almost all the imperial towns were represented, and in 1648, on the peace of Westphalia, when their presence in the Diet was formally recognized, they were formed into a separate college.

As regards the internal administration of affairs, there was little uniformity, but in most of them a privileged class gradually assumed the direction of affairs. The town council was, as we have before seen, of democratic origin, but, like the sheriffs' court, aristocratic. At first the members of the council were either citizens or landed gentry, who, on being elected, took up their residence in the towns. By degrees the municipal body consisted

exclusively of the members of families of influence, and thus a patrician class was formed in all the chief towns. In the fourteenth century the Reichstädte were the scenes of constant conflicts between the patrician families and the lower orders, who sought to obtain their former influence in the council chamber. To effect this, the industrial class formed themselves into guilds, which were presided over by a chief warden, and no artisan could follow a calling unless he had passed a prescribed examination. These guilds gradually acquired so much influence that every citizen was obliged to belong to one or other of them.

The Emperor Maximilian I. and his grandson Charles V. did their utmost to curb the growing power of the guilds, and succeeded in partially restoring the supremacy of the patrician families.

By the peace of Luneville, four of the imperial towns, viz., Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Spire, and Worms, were ceded to France. In 1803 all of the imperial towns lost their autonomy with the exception of the following six:—Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen; and in 1806 the first three, and in 1810 the others, shared the same fate, but in 1815, on the fall of Napoleon, Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Frankfort recovered their freedom, and were admitted as members of the German Bund, which they continued to be up to the year 1866.

As the imperial cities were undoubtedly the cradles

of arts, sciences, and religious liberty, we here give the early history of those to which Germany is most indebted, reserving for a future chapter the principal events from the accession of the House of Hohenzollern to the Electorate of Brandenburg.

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### AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

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AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (Aachen) was called by the Romans Aquisgranum, on account of its mineral springs, which were sacred to Apollo Grannus. As far back as the year 514 Aix-la-Chapelle was the royal residence of Theodoric.

This renowned cathedral city was the birth and burial place of the Emperor Charlemagne, who made it his capital, and his example was followed by most of his successors, fifty-three of whom were crowned here.

The Emperor Frederick I. bestowed considerable privileges on the town to increase its trade. In the struggle between Philip of Suabia and Otho of Brunswick, Aix-la-Chapelle was besieged by the latter. In 1224 the town was nearly destroyed by fire. In 1370 there appeared two sects, the Beghards and the Lollhards, who maintained that mankind was only subject to spiritual influences, and that sensuality was not incompatible with reli-

gion. They were, however, suppressed and their property confiscated by the Emperor Charles IV.

In 1520 Charles V. was crowned in the cathedral with great solemnity.

Aix-la-Chapelle was one of those towns in which the doctrines of Luther were first preached, but, as the majority of the ruling party were staunch Catholics, three of the Lutheran preachers were executed, which brought about a reaction in favour of the Reformers, for we learn that in 1544 thirty emigrant Lutherans received the right of citizenship.

Although the Jesuits did their utmost to prevent the spread of the new doctrines, Aix-la-Chapelle became the place of refuge of the unfortunate Protestants who escaped from the sword of the Duke of Alba, and the town council were forced to admit in their midst members of the Reformed faith.

The far-famed cathedral, which was built by Charlemagne, contains the most celebrated relics in Europe, of which may be mentioned the chemise of the Virgin Mary, which she wore at the birth of Christ; the swaddling clothes and holy handkerchief of Christ, and the sheet on which John the Baptist was executed. Among the minor relics is the celebrated picture of the Virgin painted by St. Lucas.

## AUGSBURG.

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AUGSBURG, known by the Romans as *Augusta Vindelicorum*, was made a colony by the Emperor Augustus, from whom it derived its name. This town soon became known as the seat of a Christian population. It was destroyed by Attila in 481, and on being rebuilt received the name of Augustusburg, contracted into Augsburg.

In 1276 it was declared an imperial town by Rudolf of Hapsburg. In 1368 the guilds seized the reins of the municipal government by a *coup de main*, after which the patrician families lost their former influence. The Emperor Maximilian made Augsburg his favourite residence, and on his departure for the last time prophetically exclaimed, "May God protect thee, my loyal Augsburg! Thou hast ever possessed our confidence, but we shall never see thee again."

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COLOGNE.

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COLOGNE (Colonia Agrippina) was founded B.C. 37- by Vipsanius Agrippa, who made it his official residence. During the reign of Vespasian the town was seized by the Batavi, who were, however, soon expelled by the inhabitants, who remained faithful to the Romans. Cologne was ruled alternately by the Romans and Germans, and on the death of Lothair, in 868, was annexed to the German Empire. The citizens of Cologne soon became known as enterprising traders and skilled artisans, and the historian, Lambert of Aschaffenburg, says of them: "*Colonienses ab ineunte ætate inter urbanas delicias educati, nullam in bellicis rebus experientiam habebant, quidquid post venditas merces inter vinum et epulas de re militari disputari solitas.*"

In 957 they received from Otho I. the rights appertaining to an imperial town, which they ever after defended with the most stubborn pertinacity.

In the campaign of the Emperor Frederick I. against the Lombards, in which he was accompanied by a Rhenish contingent under Reinold, Count of



Dassel, the latter, on the capture of Milan, obtained possession of the relics of the three holy kings, which he presented to the city of Cologne, where they have been carefully preserved in the cathedral.

In 1201 Cologne entered the Hanseatic Confederation. In 1237 Conrad von Hochstettin became archbishop, a man of great wealth and reputation, at the same time of an imperious and haughty disposition. In 1248 he laid the foundation stone of the celebrated Dom of Cologne, on which he devoted a great part of his immense wealth, but the construction was interrupted by the constant struggles going on in Germany. Besides the Dom, Cologne contains upwards of twenty-six other Catholic churches; the largest are St. Peter's, in which Rubens was baptized, and the church of St. Ursula, renowned for containing the bones of the eleven thousand British Virgins. (See Appendix C.)

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SPIRES.

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SPIRES (Speyer) known in ancient times by the names of Noviomagus, Nemidona, and Spira, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, was founded about half a century before Christ, contemporaneously with Worms, by a Celtic tribe. We find that Drusus built a fortress here for the protection of the Roman settlement on the Rhine. Moreover, it appears from the remains of Roman temples discovered, that Spires must have been a town of considerable importance at this early period.

In the third century the town was destroyed by German invaders. After the victory of Constantius over the Franks, it was rebuilt and received its present name from the Greek word *speira*, a cohort.

In 624 Dagobert I. established here a mint and granted various privileges to the town. Charlemagne built a royal palace and raised it to the rank of a free town. His successors frequently resided here, and we find that the Emperor Conrad considerably enlarged and improved it, and founded the celebrated cathedral in the year 1030. He and

his wife Gisela were interred in the imperial crypt. Spires became the last resting place of several of his successors, and was considered the Persepolis of the German Empire.

During the struggle between Lothair and his rival Conrad, Spires espoused the cause of the latter, and was several times besieged. On the death of Lothair, Conrad became undisputed Emperor and held a Diet, where, through the eloquence of Bernard of Clairvaux, the Emperor was induced to organize a crusade. During the interregnum which ensued on the death of the Emperor Frederick II., Spires, together with most of the Rhenish towns, sided with Alphonso of Castile; but his rival Richard, Earl of Cornwall, by means of bribes, gained it over to his side.

In 1289 the greater part of the city, including the Dom, was burnt down, and the destruction was so great that the Pope issued an unlimited number of indulgences to enable the citizens to restore the cathedral.

The Emperor Rudolf expired in the arms of his young wife at Spires. On finding his end approaching, while staying at Germersheim, he is said to have exclaimed, "Let me hasten to Spires, where my ancestors are interred. I will go to the crypt myself, so that no one need carry me thither."

In the fourteenth century Spires was the scene of constant strife between the inhabitants and the bishops and chapter. In the following century

similar conflicts arose between the citizens and the town council, on account of arbitrary and excessive taxation.

The Emperor Maximilian, in token of his attachment to Spires, removed thither in 1513 his recently created Supreme Court of Judicature, and in 1529 the followers of Luther were there first called Protestants through the celebrated Protest which was laid before the Diet of Spires.

Spires contains several remarkable buildings. The Cathedral, to which we have already referred, is an ancient structure, and the finest specimen in Europe of the Romanesque style of architecture. It is 446 feet long and 178 feet wide, and its two towers are 236 feet in height.

It has recently been restored and decorated with beautiful fresco paintings. Opposite the dome stands the Altportel, a tower of great antiquity, which was formerly surmounted with the imperial eagle.

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## RATISBON.

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RATISBON (Regensburg) was founded about 14 B.C. by the Romans, who established a fortified camp on the south side of the Danube, opposite to the mouth of the Regen, which they at first called *Castra Regina*, and subsequently *Ratisbona*, meaning "good shipping"; according to a Latin writer, "*Quod bona sit ratibus, vel quod consuevit in illa ponere nauta rates.*"

In 384 the Alemanni took possession of Regensburg and the surrounding country. In the year 616 we find that St. Rupert dedicated a church to the Virgin Mary, and in 740 the celebrated missionary Bonifacius visited the town, and founded a monastery under the auspices of Duke Theodo, who appointed a certain Garibold or Gaubold the first Bishop of Regensburg.

Charlemagne came here in 788 with his entire Court, and erected on the spot now called the *Königshof*, a magnificent palace and also a pontoon bridge.

Charlemagne conceived the idea of uniting the Danube and the Rhine, and began the construction of a canal 300 feet wide, but unfortunately his death prevented the carrying out of this great enterprise. About the year 800 it became a free emporium, and was the centre of commercial intercourse between Franconia, Italy, Bohemia, and Poland.

From a document of the year 898, containing the following phrase, "Reganesburg regio palatio," we learn that Regensburg was then considered a royal residence. The Emperor Arnulf, who built another palace here, divided it into the old and new town, and styled the one district Königstadt and the other Pfaffenstadt (clerical town).

In 907 the Hungarians, after having conquered Pannonia, and defeated Louis the Infant and Duke Luitpold of Bavaria near Presburg, invaded and overran Bavaria, and Regensburg was plundered by them. By the treaty of Verdun, Regensburg became the capital of Bavaria under Duke Arnold. The bishops, although exercising considerable authority, viz., the right of coining money, yet were subordinate to the Burgrave as regards the internal administration of the town, which had enjoyed all the privileges of a free city from the time of Charlemagne.

In 1135, the Danube becoming very shallow in consequence of an excessive drought, the citizens commenced to construct the first stone

bridge across the river, which was completed in 1146.

In 1180 Regensburg was raised to the rank of an imperial town. In the thirteenth century the town was greatly enlarged by numerous monastic establishments for both sexes. From the loyalty which the citizens displayed towards the Emperor Frederick in his quarrel with the Pope, they were placed under the Papal interdict, and Bishop Albert instigated an attempt to assassinate the Emperor at Regensburg.

Under the rule of Rudolf the wealth and prosperity of the town increased considerably. During the general persecution of the Jews about this period the sturdy Burgomaster of Regensburg offered a refuge to the unhappy fugitives.

In 1330 intestine struggles broke out between the artisans and the town council. Subsequently Regensburg took an active part in the struggle between the towns and nobles. In 1402 the streets of the town were first paved. Regensburg at this time contained many Reformers, but after the condemnation of John Huss at the Council of Constance, the priestly party caused two of the principal, named Peter von Dresden and Heinrich von Gotha, to be publicly burned. The violence of the clerical party led to constant disputes between the inhabitants and the bishops.

In 1443 an extraordinary civil process took place with reference to a debt due from the estate of a

deceased merchant. The creditor, whose claim was disputed, was compelled to proceed to the grave of the defunct, accompanied by six witnesses and the whole of the tribunal. There, placing his right foot at the head of the corpse, and his three fingers over the grave, he made a solemn oath as to the truthfulness of his claim, and his six witnesses, placing their three fingers on the right arm of the creditor, attested the statement.

During the wars with the Turks and Hungarians, the trade of Regensburg was greatly diminished, and, through the unjustifiable conduct of the Emperor, the town broke out into open revolt in 1485. In the same year the Regensburgers, to protect themselves from the Emperor, induced Duke Albrecht of Bavaria to undertake the protection of their town for fifteen years, in consideration of the annual payment of 300 gulden. But in 1498 the Emperor Frederick III. forced the Bavarian Duke to restore Regensburg to its position as an imperial city, and again in 1499 the Emperor Maximilian forced the inhabitants to receive into the town council an imperial officer, "Reichs-hauptmann," who controlled the entire administration of the town.

In 1512 Maximilian allowed the town to strike gold coins with the effigy of St. Wolfgang on one side and the arms on the town of the reverse.

On the death of Maximilian in 1519, the artisans of Regensburg obtained the summary expulsion of



the whole Jewish population, who were, however, allowed to take with them the whole of their property. On leaving the town their synagogues were levelled to the ground.

Ratisbon contains several magnificent structures of great antiquity. The Cathedral, which has been recently restored, is a most ancient edifice. Besides which may be mentioned the Dominican Church, Jacob's Church, and the Abbey of St. Emmerau.

The stone bridge which spans the Danube is 1,091 feet long, and 32 feet wide, and was constructed under the auspices of Henry the Proud.

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WORMS.

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WORMS (Wormatia) (Borbetomagus), situated on the left bank of the Rhine, existed long before the Roman conquest, and is supposed to have been founded by the Celts, under the name of Borbetomagus. About a hundred years before the Christian era, the Vangiones, a Germanic tribe occupying the right bank of the Rhine, crossed the river and expelled the Celts. They, in their turn, were subjugated by the Romans, who constructed a fortified camp. This town does not appear to have shared the fate of the rest of the Roman settlements on the Rhine at the hands of the Franks and Vandals, and in the fourth and fifth centuries it was a flourishing town in the possession of the Burgundians. Under their King Gundahar, the vicinity of Worms was the scene of the popular legend handed down in the romantic poem known as the Nibelungen-lied.

After the defeat and expulsion of the Burgundians by Attila, Worms fell into the hands of the Alemanni, and in 496, by the victory of Tolbiacum, it

formed a part of the empire of Clovis. On the division of the German Empire into districts (Gau), the province around Worms received the name of Wormsgau, and the capital was called Wormatia, a contraction of the ancient name Borbetomagus. As Worms was the residence of the governor of the district (Gaugraf) and contained a palace, it was styled in the old documents *civitas regia* (royal town). We are told that as early as the year 340 a bishop resided in it. In 622 Dagobert I. built a royal palace on the site of the modern Trinity Church, and converted the old palace into a religious establishment dedicated to St. Dionysius. Charlemagne solemnized his marriage in this important town, and frequently held Diets here. The bishops appear to have constantly induced the successors of Charlemagne to increase their privileges, so that at length the inhabitants, finding that they were in danger of becoming subject to the ecclesiastics, succeeded, after a protracted struggle, in recovering their independence.

Under Frederick Barbarossa, Worms received many privileges on account of its constant loyalty to the Emperor in his disputes with the Papacy. The town also enjoyed the right of striking coins.

Through the intrigues of Bishop Emmerich constant conflicts arose between the patricians and the lower classes, by which the bishop trusted to make himself eventually supreme; but the patrician party

appealed to the Emperor Albrecht, who for a time restored peace.

In 1315 the Jews were admitted as citizens by a decree of Louis of Bavaria, which was confirmed by his successor, Charles IV. In 1386 the citizens rose against the bishop and asserted their entire independence, and demanded that the ecclesiastics should be no longer exempt from taxation. Thereupon the priests left the town, and the inhabitants were placed under the interdict. The burghers now demolished the episcopal palace, and incarcerated all the priests they could lay their hands upon; but the priestly party, with the assistance of Ruprecht, Elector of the Palatinate, totally defeated the citizens, whom they compelled to indemnify the injured ecclesiastics. This feud continued with varying fortune until the time of Bishop Reinhard (1445-1482), who effected a compromise. No sooner had the bishop breathed his last than the strife was renewed, and continued to the reign of the Emperor Maximilian I., who in the year 1501 guaranteed to Worms in perpetuity all the rights and privileges pertaining to an imperial town.

From the above it may be seen that the citizens of Worms had fought for upwards of two hundred years to obtain their emancipation from priestly domination.

Here was held the celebrated assembly known as the Diet of Worms, convoked by Charles V. almost immediately after his election. The newly elected

Emperor, a youth of twenty, had given promise of talent and capacity for government; but as yet he had no policy of his own, and left the conduct of affairs in the hands of his prime minister, William of Croi, Lord of Chièvres, who possessed almost absolute authority.

On the 23rd of October, 1520, Charles was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with the title of Roman Emperor Elect, which his predecessor had adopted in the latter years of his life. In December he repaired to Worms, and at once convoked his first Diet to meet on the 6th of January, 1521. Nuremberg, where, according to the Golden Bull, the Diet should have been held, had been recently desolated by a plague, which rendered it necessary to select some other imperial city for the first general meeting of the empire, rendered imperatively necessary by the agitated state of affairs in Germany, in consequence of the Bull of excommunication of Pope Leo against Martin Luther, condemning his works to be burned as scandalous and heretical. The publication of the Bull had led to violent agitation, and in some cities the people not only prevented its promulgation, but even caused it to be torn in pieces and trodden under foot. Such was the state of feeling in Germany when the young Emperor Charles V. opened the Diet at Worms on the 28th of January, 1521, the day sacred to Charlemagne.

Never had so many princes assembled at an Imperial Diet. There are said to have been

upwards of sixty princes, one hundred counts, and sixty representatives of the free cities. The roads leading to Worms were covered with the brilliant trains of the various princes; one of them, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, was accompanied by six hundred knights. The town of Worms is said to have resembled a fair. A contemporary chronicler gives the following description of the state of Worms during this remarkable Diet:—

“Es ist hie zu Worms, selten eine Nacht, es werden denn drei oder vier Menschen ermordet. Es hat der Kaiser, einen Profoss, der hat schon über 100 Menschen ertränkt, gehangen oder sonst abgethan. Es geht hier zu, wie in Rom, mit Morden und Stehlen, und von schönen Frauen sind alle Gassen voll.”

The first few months were occupied with settling the internal affairs of the empire, more especially the appointment of a Council of Regency for the government of the empire during the occasional absence of the Emperor, but public attention was chiefly directed to the appearance of Luther at the Diet to defend his doctrine. On the morning of the 16th of April Luther arrived at Worms in a carriage lent him by the town council of Wittenberg. On entering the city he was greeted by his supporters with manifestations of sympathy, and forthwith was conducted to the Hotel of the Hospitallers of St. John, where the Saxon councillors, Frederick von Thunau and Philip von Feilitz, and other men

of rank had their quarters. The following day he proceeded to the bishop's palace, where the Diet was sitting, accompanied by the imperial herald and marshal, and in the course of the morning appeared before the vast assembly of electors and the spiritual and temporal princes. On being asked whether he was prepared to stand by his writings, Luther replied, in a feeble and almost inaudible voice, that he desired time to consider his reply.

It is said that Luther was somewhat disconcerted at the sight of so many princes and nobles, and that one of them went up to him and encouraged him by saying, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." The great Reformer appears to have exhibited much self-command and composure under the circumstances. The young Emperor Charles scanned with the greatest attention the man who had by his eloquence thrown the whole of Germany into commotion, and is said to have remarked to one of his courtiers, "Surely such a man as that will never succeed in making me a heretic."

The Emperor and his Ministers, having deliberated in the council-chamber, agreed to accede to Luther's request, and the Diet was adjourned to the following day. Meanwhile the greatest excitement prevailed amongst the citizens and strangers, who frequently came to blows in discussing the exciting topic of the day. Luther's enemies began to

triumph over what had taken place, and his friends to fear for his safety; but he himself retained his calmness and self-possession, for on his return to his hotel from the Diet, we find that he wrote to his brother, "This very hour I have been in the presence of the Emperor and the princes of the empire. I have acknowledged myself to be the author of my books, and I have declared that I shall give my reply to-morrow. I will not retract a single word of all my works."

At this trying period Luther received much encouragement from his friends and sympathisers. It is related that on the way to his hotel, he was accosted by a distinguished military officer in the following words:—

"You are engaged in a conflict far more dangerous than any that I have had to go through. But be of good courage, for if you fight in God's name, you must be victorious."

The next day came, and Luther was again conducted to the palace where the Diet held its sittings. During the morning the assembly was occupied in other business, and he had to wait for several hours in a court, surrounded by an immense crowd, which thronged to catch a glimpse of the distinguished Reformer. Night was now drawing on, and the torches were lighted in the great halls, giving everything a solemn aspect. At length Luther was introduced to the assembly, which was even more numerous than the day before.



On the princes taking their seats, Luther was asked by the Imperial Chancellor if he was ready to defend his works, or wished to retract anything that he had written. On which he replied in an humble and subdued tone, yet without the least embarrassment, that he had already acknowledged the authorship of his works, and that he was prepared to abide by them. He confessed that he had attacked the false doctrines and abuses of the See of Rome, and would not revoke what he had written; "for," said he, "the Papal doctrines martyrize the faithful, and the never-ending extortions of Rome swallow up the wealth of Christendom."

Luther was interrupted in his address by the Imperial Chancellor, who asked for a clear and precise answer to the question, "Do you retract?" Upon which the Reformer replied emphatically, "I neither can nor will retract anything, for it is unsafe for a Christian to say anything against his conscience." The Emperor and the princes were filled with amazement, and could scarcely conceal their admiration. The Emperor himself exclaimed, "The monk speaks fearlessly and with a confident spirit."

On Luther withdrawing, the assembly proceeded to deliberate, when it was resolved to recall the Reformer. On being re-interrogated he calmly replied, "I have no other answer to make than what I have already made." He was then escorted to

his hotel by two imperial ushers, and the Diet was adjourned.

On the following day, April 19th, the Emperor caused a message to be read to the Diet, in which he declared that he would send back the Augustinian monk, forbidding him meanwhile to cause the least tumult among the people; and that he would proceed against him and his adherents as against heretics, by excommunication, by interdict, and by every available means.

After the Diet Luther received marks of sympathy, including various gifts from the Duke of Brunswick and the Kurfürst of Saxony, and on the 26th of April he returned home; and on the 23rd of May the Emperor issued the well-known Edict of Worms, declaring Luther and his writings under the imperial ban.

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## NUREMBERG.

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NUREMBERG (Nürnberg) (Norimberga) is situated on the Regnitz, in the centre of Middle Franconia, about ninety miles north-west of Munich, to which it is second in size and importance, with a population of about 90,000.

The name is said to be derived from the ancient inhabitants of Noricum, who migrated hither about the year 451, on being driven from their early settlements on the Danube by the Huns. Here they distinguished themselves by their skill in the working of metals, which abound in the neighbouring mountains.

Before the eleventh century the history of Nuremberg is enveloped in a mist of impenetrable obscurity, from which it does not emerge until the time of the Emperor Henry III., who issued an edict, dated July 16, 1050, "*ad castrum Noremberc*," a proof that

it was a place of considerable importance even at this early period.

Nuremberg afterwards became the favourite residence of the Emperor Henry IV., who unfortunately became involved in disputes with his nobles and with Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).

Although most of the cities of the Empire renounced their allegiance, Nuremberg distinguished itself by its fidelity to the Emperor, who here in 1074 received the ambassadors of Gregory VII., and in 1077 he returned to Nuremberg after his visit to the Pope at Canossa.

Under the Emperor Conrad III. the town enjoyed a period of uninterrupted repose, and increased in wealth and importance. In 1140 Conrad erected a cloister in honour of St. Egidius, of which Deocharius, the imperial confessor, was appointed abbot. Conrad also enlarged and improved the town considerably. He also commenced to surround Nuremberg with walls, which were not completed until more than a century after, during the reign of the Emperor Rudolf I. On the death of Conrad III., in 1152, his nephew, Frederick of Suabia, was elected Emperor, and he restored the Dukedom of Bavaria to Henry the Lion.

In 1156 Frederick I. held a Court at Nuremberg, and despatched a circular letter to all the German princes, ordering them to accompany him on his expedition to Italy against the Lombards. In 1166 he again visited Nuremberg, where he put under

the ban his uncle, the Archbishop of Salzburg, for having espoused the cause of Pope Alexander III. On the Emperor taking possession of Salzburg, the archbishop escaped to the cloister of Admont, where he died.

In 1187 the Emperor summoned a Diet at Nuremberg, where it was resolved to organize a crusade to recover the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels. In 1189 Frederick proceeded to Asia at the head of a large army, and gained several victories over the Greeks and Turks; but met with his death before reaching Jerusalem, and was buried at Antioch in 1190.

On the death of Henry VI., in 1197, there were two competitors for the crown, and an internecine war arose between the Hohenstauffen and the Guelphs. The latter supported the candidature of Duke Otho of Brunswick, and the former espoused the cause of Duke Philip of Suabia. The war lasted ten years. Most of the German princes sided with Philip of Suabia, whereas the large towns and the ecclesiastics supported Otho of Brunswick.

On the murder of Philip, in 1208, by Count Otho of Wittelsbach, Otho IV. was universally acknowledged Emperor; but in 1215, being placed under the Papal interdict, Frederick II. was elected in his stead. Almost immediately after his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, Frederick proceeded to Nuremberg, which in 1219 he raised to the rank of an imperial city. Nuremberg received her most important

privileges from the Emperor Frederick II., who renounced in her favour his imperial right to levy tolls and other duties.

There is great uncertainty as to the origin of the Burgraviate of Nuremberg. In a document of the twelfth century mention is made of a certain "Godofredus, burgravius castellanus." It is not known whether this Godfried was an hereditary noble or simply a nominee of the Emperor. It appears that the "burgravius" resided in the castle, and was entrusted with its defence. The earliest authentic information concerning the Burgraviate dates from the time of Frederick of Zollern, who became, by marriage with the Countess of Rackz, Burgrave of Nuremberg, which title was from that period hereditary in the family.

Nuremberg enjoyed the right of striking coins as early as the year 1219, and the circulation extended even as far as Donauwerth and Nördlingen. Some of these old coins still exist, viz., denarii solidi, 1 and 4 pfenning pieces, körthingen, batzen, groschen, kerzendreier, 1, 2, 3, 5, 10 and 20 kreuzer pieces, gulden, half-gulden, gold gulden, ducats,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$  ducat pieces, as well as several other small coins.

There existed at an early period various churches, more especially the churches of St. Laurence and St. Sebald, St. James's Church (1228), convents of the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, and St. Maurice's Chapel (1250).

On the death of Frederick II. in 1250, Nuremberg joined the Rhine Confederation. The town council was composed of patrician citizens, at the head of whom was the mayor or chief magistrate, who directed the internal affairs of the town. From the year 1180 the family of Zollern appear to have directed all judicial affairs of the Burgraviate, but, as they ruled conjointly with the mayor, the town obtained a far greater amount of independence and influence. The council consisted of twenty-six members, who were elected every Easter. The Emperor Louis the Bavarian granted to Nuremberg several new rights and privileges—the freedom of the market, from which originated the annual Easter fair, and complete liberty of trade.

The commerce of Nuremberg at this period extended over Franconia, Bavaria, Switzerland, the Rhine Provinces, Brabant, and Westphalia. With the exception of his Bavarian country residence, there was no other town in his dominions to which Louis was more attached. Like the affable Emperor Maximilian in Augsburg, Louis generally lodged in the house of one of the citizens, either with Henry Weigel in the Milk Market, or with Albrecht Ebner in the Salt Market. The chroniclers relate that no other town expressed so much grief at the death of the Emperor, in 1347, as the loyal town of Nuremberg. Louis shortly before his death enacted that artisans, who hitherto had no voice in the local government, should be allowed to

assemble in public rooms to discuss politics, a privilege hitherto enjoyed only by the patrician citizens. But no sooner had the Emperor breathed his last than the leaders of this latter class attempted to regain their supremacy.

The leading patrician families of Ebner, Gross, Haller, Imhof, Kress, Mendel, Stromer, Tucher, Weigel, and several others, formed themselves into an aristocratic clique to check the growing influence of the lower classes, but their attempts only fanned the smouldering discontent into open rebellion.

The artisans, consisting of tailors, shoemakers, locksmiths, and other mechanics, organized themselves into a union, and, according to a preconcerted arrangement, made a sudden attack on the town-hall, and forced the councillors to a precipitate flight. The artisans proceeded to elect a new council, consisting chiefly of mechanics, although a few of the upper class were also elected. The fugitive patricians, who took refuge with the country nobility, revenged themselves by plundering all those who passed to and from the city and were believed to favour their opponents. These outrages led to retaliation, and the Jews, who were known to be in close connexion with the patricians on account of money-lending transactions, were the unfortunate victims. The Jews had settled in Nuremberg from time immemorial, and were possessed of great wealth.

On the 5th of December, 1348, the artisans com-



menced a wholesale massacre, and those who could not effect their escape were put to the sword or burnt. On hearing of these outrages, Charles IV., who had already promised his aid to the fugitives, advanced at the head of a powerful army against Nuremberg, and in September, 1349, restored the old council, declared all the acts of the artisan council illegal, and sentenced the ringleaders to perpetual banishment.

However, it soon became apparent to the patricians that, unless they conciliated the artisan classes by admitting them to a share of power, a second revolt was inevitable. In 1376 they consented to admit eight artisans into the common council. The patricians, however, continued to maintain the upper hand, and conferred special privileges on butchers and cutlers, who had sided with the patricians during the contentions. The immediate consequence of the insurrection was the extension of the town to its present dimensions, by the construction of edifices in those quarters which had been burnt down during the struggle.

A church, dedicated to Notre Dame, was erected on the former site of the Jewish synagogue. In 1352 the Jews received permission to return.

In 1356 the Golden Bull of Charles IV. led to fresh contentions in Nuremberg between the citizens and the Count of Zollern, who, on receiving special charter from the Emperor, began to assert his supremacy over the city authorities.

On the death of the Emperor Charles IV. fresh complications arose, and the territorial nobles assumed such authority that the towns for mutual protection united themselves into a confederation, and hence the Suabian Bund was called into existence in 1381.

In 1383 the Emperor Wenceslaus restored order for a short time by the proclamation of a twelve years' peace at the Diet held at Nuremberg. Four years had scarce elapsed before a civil war broke out, in consequence of the imprisonment of Pilgrim II., Archbishop of Salzburg, by Frederick, Duke of Bavaria.

The Nurembergers took an active part in the war, and, under the command of the Burgrave Frederick of Zollern, continued the struggle until 1397, when the Emperor Wenceslaus brought about a compromise between the contending parties.

In 1424 the Emperor Sigismund entrusted to the town of Nuremberg the custody of the crown jewels, and in 1427 the Burgrave Frederick VI. of Zollern, having been raised to the rank of Kurfürst of Brandenburg, sold all his rights, privileges, and private domains to the citizens of Nuremberg for the sum of 120,000 florins.

With the fifteenth century began a new epoch in the history of Nuremberg, which now acquired much greater influence and importance, the natural result of the decrease of the imperial authority. Nuremberg had now become one of the greatest

commercial emporiums of Europe, for merchants assembled here for the purchase of the produce of Italy and the East. The citizens enjoyed ease and affluence, as is attested by the well-known saying of Æneas Silvius, "Scotch kings would be happy if they could but live like Nurembergers."

Nuremberg contains several buildings of antiquity. The ancient castle, the residence of the Emperors in the Middle Ages, and afterwards of the mayors of the town, is one of the most attractive of its public edifices.

The Church of St. Sebald is built in the Gothic style, and has a most romantic appearance as seen from the river.

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FRANKFORT.

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FRANKFORT, which until very recently retained the privileges of a free city, is situated on the right bank of the river Main, about twenty miles above its confluence with the Rhine, and is connected by a stone bridge with Sachsenhausen, a suburb on the opposite bank of the river.

The earliest inhabitants on the banks of the Main, in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, appear to have been the Celts, who settled here in their migrations westwards, but were subsequently displaced by the Suevi, a powerful German tribe, which overran Europe shortly before the commencement of the Christian era.\*

\* From the remains of old Roman inscriptions and funereal urns found in the vicinity, there can be little doubt that Frankfort was the seat of a Roman colony at a very early period. The surmise is further confirmed by the fact that there existed a Roman village, *Novus Vicus*, within a few miles of the river Main, midway between the towns of Heddernheim and Praunheim.

In the course of the next two centuries the banks of the Main and Middle Rhine were inhabited successively by the Alemanni and Burgundians, of whom mention is made in the traditional popular songs, the Nibelungen.

During the fifth century the Franks gradually extended their conquests on both sides of the Rhine, and at the battle of Tolbiacum, in 496, their King Clovis gained a signal victory over the Alemanni, whom he reduced under his sway. Towards the beginning of the sixth century the Franks obtained complete possession of the whole country on both sides of the river, previously occupied by the Alemanni, and gave their name to the town of Frankfort. In course of time their empire was divided into two portions. That on the east of the Rhine was known by the name Austrasia or Ostfranken (East Franconia), and included the country situated between the Rhine, the Lahn, and the Neckar.

The district around the site of modern Frankfort was also called Rheinfranken (Rhenish Franconia). This province was never raised to a dukedom, but we find that the German King Conrad I. assumed the title of "*Duke in Franconia*," not *of Franconia*.

After the treaty of Verdun, in 843, when the empire of the Franks was again divided, the west portion received its present name, France or Frankishland. Even during the rule of the Hohenstauffen

dynasty, the terms "Francia" and "Franks" were synonymous with Germany and the Germans. This is, moreover, confirmed by the fact that in the time of Charlemagne the German dialect was designated the "Frankish language," whereas early French was known as Romance. Moreover, the Archbishop of Mayence was regarded as the primate of Germany, and afterwards became one of the seven Kurfürsts.

From all these circumstances it would appear that the Rhine province, especially the country extending from Basle to Mayence, was then regarded as the most important part of Germany, or, as it is expressed by Bishop Otho von Freisingen, a chronicler of the twelfth century, "*Maxima vis imperii.*" Hence the German kings were constantly elected in some city of Rhenish Franconia, and in the fourteenth century the city of Frankfort was selected as the "Wahlstadt," as being the most convenient place for the election of the German sovereigns. There are several popular legends connected with the foundation of the modern city of Frankfort.

According to one story, Charlemagne, when retreating with his army before the Saxons, advanced to the banks of the river Main, and discovered a ford through a stag which happened at the time to be crossing the stream. Having halted here, he laid the foundations of a city which he called "Frankford," or the ford of the Franks. There is another version of the legend to the effect that Charlemagne, on defeating the Saxons, made a

great number of prisoners, whom he settled on the opposite side of the Main, hence denominated Sachsenhausen.

The earliest authentic historical fact connected with Frankfort is mentioned by an old annalist named Eginhard, who relates that in the years 793, 794, the Emperor Charlemagne erected a royal palace at Frankfort and summoned an ecclesiastical synod. He says, "In concilio divino nuto habito in suburbanis Moguntiae metropolitanæ civitatis, regione Germaniæ, in loco celebri, qui dicitur *Frankonofurd*," from which we may infer that even at this early period Frankfort was a place of considerable importance. The probability is, notwithstanding the legend, that Frankfort was built long before the time of Charlemagne, and that it was the principal town among upwards of thirty others which are known to have existed at this period.

The original town of Frankfort was most conveniently situated on an island in the river Main, and offered facilities for commercial intercourse between North and South Germany and between East and West Franconia.

In 822 and 823 Louis the Pious held two great Diets, at which envoys were received from the Slaves and Normans. On the death of the Emperor Louis the empire was divided between his two sons, the younger, Louis, surnamed the German, becoming ruler of East Franconia or Germany. Louis the German appears to have made Frankfort his

favourite city, inasmuch as he is said to have visited it nearly every year of his reign.

In 874 the church of St. Salvator was erected and richly endowed by a lady named Routlint.

Louis the German died at Frankfort in 876.

Between the years 918 and 1137 Frankfort was seldom favoured by royal visits, and for a time lost its importance. During the reigns of the Emperors Lothair and Frederick Barbarossa it again emerges from obscurity and begins to rank among the chief imperial cities, being governed by two officials, Vogt (Advocatus) and Schultheis (Scultetus).

The first mention of a Frankfort coinage occurs in the year 1219, when the city had become well known as a mart for corn and other agricultural produce. Frankfort was, moreover, famous for its annual fairs, which were frequented by merchants from all parts, and an edict of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1240 declares that all traders attending the Frankfort fair should be under imperial protection.

A document of 1246 speaks of Frankfort as *nobilis imperii civitas*. In the thirteenth century the monastic Orders possessed numerous religious establishments. The Cistercian cloister was built in 1220; the Dominican, 1240; the Carmelite, 1260; the chapel of St. Catherine, 1262; and the Hospital zum heiligen Geist, 1270.

The old town of Frankfort was entered by three gates, but on the extension of the boundaries two



alone remained — the Bornheim Gate and the Bockenheim Gate.

By a compact concluded with the Archbishop of Mayence in 1265, it appears that the inhabitants of Frankfort were divided into four classes:—1. Nobility; 2. Clergy; 3. Burghers; 4. Villagers. The nobility included counts, knights, and citizens; the clergy consisted of prelates and priests; the burghers were for the most part merchants and traders; the lowest class comprised labourers and agriculturists.

The Jewish population formed a distinct community, and appears to have settled in Frankfort in the first half of the thirteenth century.

In the year 1246 the vicinity of Frankfort was the scene of a sanguinary battle between King Conrad IV. and the Papal army, under the command of Heinrich Raspe. Although the latter gained a signal victory and entered Frankfort in triumph, yet the Frankforters remained loyal to the King, and in 1251 refused to open their gates to his rival, William of Holland, who, however, was subsequently acknowledged King on the death of Conrad in 1254.

Frankfort possesses an original copy of the celebrated Golden Bull, issued by the Emperor Charles IV. in 1356. There are several other copies preserved in the archives of the chief capitals of the German empire, but the one preserved in Frankfort issued from the Imperial Chancery, and bears the seal of the Emperor Charles IV.

In the year 1423 the town council allowed the Margrave of Brandenburg to take a copy of it. A similar privilege was accorded to Adolf of Nassau in 1494. Towards the sixteenth century the council refused to allow the document even to be seen. This restriction, however, has been since relaxed.

The citizens of Frankfort have always been distinguished by their independence of character, industry, and hospitality, and it is but too natural that they should still cling to the glories of the past.

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## APPENDIX.

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(A.)

MATTHIAS CORVINUS, son of the great patriot, John Hunyady, was elected King of Hungary in 1458. On the death of Ladislaus, who is said to have been poisoned at the instigation of George von Podiebrad, a Diet was summoned by the principal nobles and ecclesiastics for the election of a new king, and Michael Szilagyi, who had resolved to support the candidature of his young relative, Matthias Hunyady, made his appearance in Pesth at the head of 20,000 men. On the other hand, the opposition party, with Garay at their head, dreading the power of the Hunyady family, resolved to oppose the election of young Matthias to the utmost, and accordingly withdrew to Ofen, with the determination of seeking the mediation of the sovereigns of France, Poland, and Saxony.

To avoid foreign intervention, the old soldier Szilagyi proposed a compromise, and made a solemn oath that he would not avail himself of his army to influence the election.

As a severe winter had set in, and the Danube was frozen over, the malcontents under Garay were not unwilling to enter into negotiations, which continued for some time, but without any definite result. At length the party of Hunyady, growing impatient of delay, organized a body of men to proclaim, "Long live King Matthias!" in the streets of the

capital. The cry, being soon taken up by the multitude, was echoed from street to street until it reached the precincts of the town-hall, where, amidst the general enthusiasm, young Hunyady, a youth of fifteen years, was proclaimed king without opposition.

In the mean time Szilagyi was appointed Stadtholder during the minority of the young King, who being despatched on an embassy to George Podiebrad, Regent of Bohemia, the latter detained Matthias until he consented to espouse his daughter Catherine.

The alliance was forthwith arranged, and the young King returned to Ofen with great pomp and amidst the universal rejoicings of his people. The beginning of his reign, however, was chequered by a series of troubles. His opponents still continued their intrigues in favour of his rivals. Garay and Ujlaky were secretly negotiating with the Emperor Frederick, who also aspired to the crown of Hungary, whilst Giskra, a partisan of King Casimir of Poland, openly refused allegiance, and, at the head of a body of Bohemians, committed depredations in various parts of the country. Moreover, the Turks, thirsting to avenge their disastrous defeat before Belgrade, made constant incursions, and plundered and sacked all the towns on the frontiers.

On his twentieth birthday young Matthias, having assumed the reins of government, soon restored order and compelled the rebel Giskra to an unconditional submission.

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## (B.)

In Brandenburg, Lusatia, Silesia, and the north and west of Poland, remains have been found of the ancient inhabitants in the shape of burnt bones, burial urns, bronze and iron weapons. In some parts of Brandenburg inscriptions have been disinterred, in which occur the names of the ancient German deities, from their age leading to the belief that a large portion of the German race remained in the country after its having been overrun by the Slavonic race.

There exist but a few places in Brandenburg of Slavonic origin besides the town itself, formerly called Brannibor. In Pomerania we can trace Stettin, Stargard, Wolin, and others.

In those parts where the Wends settled are still to be found the remains of large stockades, composed of wood, earth, and stones. They are called in German "Burgwälle." These Burgwälle were generally surrounded by a ditch and rampart. From the appearance of the woodwork there can be but little doubt that the Wends had acquired considerable skill in the art of building.

The principal Wendish towns are Bautzen and Cottbus, situated in Lusatia, where the inhabitants are distinguished by their peculiar national costume, especially the head-dress, and call themselves Sorbes.

The above is taken from an interesting paper, read at the Imperial Ethnological Society of Berlin, by Professor Virchow.

## (C.)

The legend is that Ursula was the daughter of a Christian King of Britain, whose hand had been sought by the son of a heathen German King, whose territory lay near Cologne. The princess gave her consent on condition that the prince should introduce Christianity amongst his subjects. To effect this, 11,000 British virgins were to accompany her to her new home, where they were to be betrothed to 11,000 heathens. The marriage was not to take place before the period of two years, to enable the prince to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Christian religion.

On the expiration of this time, eleven vessels conveyed the bride and her followers to Basle, whence they proceeded to Rome. After visiting the tomb of the Apostles, they returned to Cologne, accompanied by several of the Church Fathers. Here it appears that the heathens declined to embrace Christianity, and the virgins refused to marry them. Enraged at the obstinacy of the Princess Ursula and her companions, the heathens massacred all except one maiden, named Cordula, who had concealed herself, but who, on the following day, gave herself up and shared the martyrdom.

For a long time the name of this virgin was unknown ; but towards the twelfth century it is related that a certain nun, named Halentrud, in a convent of Westphalia, beheld an apparition of the murdered virgin, who bore on her forehead the name "Cordula."

On another occasion the same virgin appeared to a monk, Ingebrand de Rurke, and informed him that her body was interred in the garden of the monastery under a hazel tree.

Albertus von Regensburg, surnamed Magnus, on account of his reputation as a magician, had the bones disinterred and placed in the church. St. Otho presented the remains to the cathedral of Camin in Pomerania, which was then the seat of a bishopric, and had it placed in a remarkable casket made of the bones of some huge animal.

The skull has been closely inspected by Professor Virchow, —from whom we are now quoting,—who found a large wound in the forehead, and is of opinion that it is the identical skull of Cordula, and that she was a middle-aged person: this would lead to the presumption that she was the confidant of the Princess Ursula, and hence the reason for her not being massacred with the other virgins.

The casket is supposed to be of Danish origin, as the ornamental work on the outside resembles one recently found in Jutland. St. Otho probably obtained it as a present during his missionary labours in the North.

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## (D.)

According to Latham, the chief Slavonic tribes were :—

**THE WAGRIANS.**—Occupants of the country between the Trave and the upper portion of the southern branch of the Eyder.

**THE POLABI.**—Conterminal with the Wagrians and the Saxons of Sturmar, from whom they were separated by the river Bille.

**THE OBOTRITI.**—This is a generic rather than a specific term. It means, however, the tribes between the Trave and the Warnow, chiefly along the coast. Zeuss makes Schwerin their most inland locality.

**VARNAHI.**—This is the form which the name takes in Adam of Bremen. It is also that of the Varni, Varini, and Veruni of the classical writers, as well as the Werini of the Introduction to the "*Leges Anglorum et Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum.*"

**LINONES LUNEBURG.**—Language spoken during the last century, known through a Paternoster. Slavonic, modified by German.

## (E.)

George von Podiebrad, born in 1420, was a descendant of a noble German family that had settled in Bohemia. The government of the country was about 1440 in the hands of the chiefs of two factions, viz., Meinhard von Neuhaus and Ptacek, who acted as guardians of the young King Ladislaus.

On the death of Ptacek in 1444, George von Podiebrad was chosen by the Calixtines to act as regent during the minority of Ladislaus, in conjunction with Meinhard von Neuhaus. The co-regents, however, soon disagreed on matters connected with the Church, and became bitter opponents. George Podiebrad, relying on his popularity, and having a large force at his command, now determined by a bold stroke to get rid of his colleague. Accordingly he took possession of the capital by surprise, and imprisoned his rival Meinhard, who died shortly after (1448).

Podiebrad, on being declared sole regent, adopted energetic measures to strengthen the influence of his own adherents. He restored the Hussite Archbishop of Prague, John Rokyczana, who had been expelled by the Catholic party. He next marched against the sons of Meinhard von Neuhaus, who had collected an army to avenge their father's death. Podiebrad defeated his opponents in several pitched battles, and advanced with his victorious forces into the heart of Saxony.

Meanwhile Pope Nicholas V. had sent into Bohemia John Capistrano, an Italian monk, for the purpose of preaching

against the Hussites. His eloquence is said to have had an extraordinary effect in exciting the people against the Bohemian "heretics." He even challenged the Archbishop Rokyczana to a disputation. His excess of zeal, however, soon led to disturbances, which necessitated the intervention of the Regent, who appears to have governed with consummate ability, and by his great tact succeeded in reconciling the rival parties. Meanwhile the young King Ladislaus, who had taken little part in state affairs, fell a victim to dissipation at the early age of eighteen.

There were now several candidates for the vacant throne, but George Podiebrad succeeded in getting himself elected, mainly through the support of the Archbishop Rokyczana, who strained every nerve to bring about the election of the Regent. The new King was crowned by two Hungarian bishops, and at his coronation bound himself by oath to endeavour to recall his people "from all errors and heresies, and from other articles contrary to the Roman Church and the Catholic faith, and to bring them to obedience, conformity, and union, and to the rite and worship of the holy Roman Church."

At Rome, Podiebrad was at once recognized by Pope Calixtus, whose successor, Pius II., invited him to a congress at Mantua, in the hope of enlisting him as an ally in a crusade against the Turks. To secure his position, Podiebrad contracted an alliance with the young King of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, to whom he gave his daughter Catherine in marriage, and renewed the friendly relations which had formerly existed between Silesia and Bohemia. He also espoused the cause of the Emperor Frederick, and was instrumental in raising the siege of Vienna.

Notwithstanding the readiness with which the Pope had confirmed his election, Podiebrad was soon embroiled in disputes with the Papacy. The Pontiff had taken umbrage at the

refusal of the King to attend the Congress of Mantua, and as the nomination of Rokyczana to the Archbishopric of Prague had never received the Papal sanction, Pope Pius nominated the Dean of Prague as rival archbishop. Thereupon Podiebrad despatched an embassy to Rome, in 1462, to protest against this act of the Pontiff.

The ambassadors returned home, accompanied by the Papal legate, Fantino della Valle, who accused the King of breaking his coronation oath, threatened to anathematize him as a heretic, and behaved with such insolence that the King committed him to prison.

On the news of the arrest of the legate reaching Rome, the Pontiff at once issued a citation, summoning "George von Podiebrad, who styles himself King of Bohemia, to appear at Rome within a hundred and eighty days, to answer for heresy, perjury, sacrilege, and blasphemy."

In the following year an alliance was formed among the nobles to depose the King and elect in his stead Casimir of Poland, who, however, refused to accept the offer.

In 1465 Pope Pius died, and was succeeded by Paul II., who displayed even greater zeal against the Hussite King. He not only caused Podiebrad's ambassadors to be driven out of Rome, but also despatched his legate, Rudolf of Lavant, to Saxony and Hungary to preach a crusade against the "heretic."

The ambitious and unscrupulous Matthias Corvinus now abandoned his father-in-law, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Bohemia. In the war which ensued George Podiebrad succeeded in entrapping into the forest of Wylemon his son-in-law, who thereupon agreed to make peace and pay the expenses of the war. On finding himself in safety the crafty Corvinus resumed hostilities, and sent a chest full of sand instead of the war indemnity. The struggle continued for several years without any decisive result.

Early in the year 1471 George Podiebrad received news of the capture of his son Victorin by the Hungarians, and shortly after fell ill and died, March the 22nd, 1471.

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(F.)

**FREDERICK CÆTINGER and EITEL FREDERICK,  
Counts of Hohenzollern.**

About the year 1420 Frederick Cætinger mortgaged a great part of Hechingen to the Margrave of Baden, and hereupon became involved in a dispute with his brother Eitel Frederick. Having violated his engagements at the treaty of Eilwangen, Frederick Cætinger was condemned by the Imperial Court of Justice at Rothweil to the forfeiture of his domains in favour of his brother Eitel Frederick. Cætinger, however, in defiance of the Supreme Court, sold his estates, and, aided by the Counts of Geroldseck, collected an army, with which he overran Suabia, especially the district of Rothweil. He seized eight citizens of Rothweil and thirty-six burgesses of Rotenburg, upon which the inhabitants sought help from the towns of the Suabian alliance.

In May, 1422, the town of Rothweil declared war against Frederick Cætinger, who, finding the greater part of Suabia opposed to him, retired to the castle of Hohenzollern, which was considered impregnable. The allied towns and the auxiliaries of Württemberg now surrounded the castle, which they resolved to destroy. Count Frederick succeeded in effecting his escape from the castle on New Year's Day, 1423, and solicited aid from the Margrave of Baden and Duke Charles of Lorraine, who, however, refused to give him assistance. In the mean time news came that Count Frederick, while wandering in Alsace, had been taken prisoner by Count Louis of Lichtenberg, upon which an honourable capitulation was proposed to the garrison

of Hohenzollern. Reduced to the last extremity, the brave defenders of the fort accepted the terms offered, and, after having successfully and courageously held out nearly a year, left the castle with all the honours of war.

The confederates, having planted their banners on the towers and bulwarks of the captured fort, carried out the original resolution and destroyed the castle, which was regarded as the cradle of the ancestors of the Hohenzollern family. This event took place in May, 1423. Eitel Frederick also took part in the siege, but it is not certain that he consented to the destruction of the castle.

Count Frederick C ttinger was liberated in the year 1424. In January, 1426, a reconciliation took place between the Count and the Suabian alliance, and Eitel Frederick became Regent of Zollern. Eitel Frederick now did his utmost to gain the affection of the vassals of Zollern, and also sought to establish his possession by a reconciliation with his brother, Count Fritzli, Canon of Strasburg, who had up to this period sided with C ttinger and had taken part in the defence of the castle of Hohenzollern. To protect his dominions, it was necessary for Eitel Frederick of Zollern to be on good terms with his powerful neighbours, Counts Louis and Ulric of W rtemberg. This arose from the fact that many of his vassals still cherished a feeling of devotion and attachment to the cause of Frederick C ttinger, his elder brother. In 1429 he concluded the treaty of Markt-Groeningen, by which it was agreed that Zollern should relapse to the family of W rtemberg in case of the extinction of the male line, which was very probable, as neither Eitel Frederick nor Frederick C ttinger had children. Eitel Frederick now sought to rebuild the castle of Hohenzollern; but the towns of the Suabian alliance opposed this project, still retaining a lively recollection of the stubborn resistance they had encountered before its walls. About this period the Emperor Sigismund determined to suppress the Hussite revolt

in Bohemia, and, as hereditary King of Bohemia, ordered the estates of Suabia to make preparations for war. But the inhabitants of Suabia were little inclined to support the Emperor, who in 1422, and again in 1426, was obliged to give up the expedition, as the imperial army was not sufficiently large. War, however, continued for several years, until at length Procop, at the head of a deputation, waited upon Sigismund, and agreed to acknowledge him as King of Bohemia on condition of the Bohemians being allowed the free exercise of their religion. In the mean time the old animosity revived, and the Taborites and Waisen obstinately refused to agree to the arrangement, as they formed a strong party of ultra-republicans. On the negotiations being broken off the war was renewed in 1431. The imperial army, commanded by Frederick of Brandenburg, entered Bohemia, burnt 200 villages, and committed the most horrid excesses. The two armies met on the 14th of August, 1431; but the Germans, notwithstanding their superiority in number, were seized with a panic and took to flight, followed by the rest of the army. This and other disasters led to the Council of Basle.

After the Bohemian war serious disputes arose between the Counts of Würtemberg and the Counts of Shauenburg. Eitel Frederick commanded the troops of the Count of Würtemberg. A peace, however, was brought about by the mediation of the Bishop of Strasburg and the Margrave of Baden. This closed the military career of Eitel Frederick, who now devoted himself exclusively to the government of his territory and the improvement of his estates. Among other acts he rebuilt the walls of the castle of Hechingen. In 1436 he entered into an arrangement with the Suabian alliance, which agreed to all his proposals except to the rebuilding of his castle of Hohen-zollern. In his efforts to secure the attachment of his brother's adherents, he was strongly supported by the Prior of Hechingen. Eitel Frederick was a worthy successor of



Frederick the Illustrious. He died in September, 1437, and his ashes were buried in the family vaults of Stettin.

On the death of the Emperor Sigismund, in 1437, the electors determined to choose as Emperor some prince of great energy and resolution, and their choice lay between Albert, Archduke of Austria, and Frederick the Elder of Brandenburg. For various reasons Frederick declined the offer of the imperial sceptre, and after some hesitation Albert of Austria consented to ascend a throne so dangerous and precarious. The candidature of the Archduke of Austria and the Elector of Brandenburg is a noteworthy event in the history of Germany, as it is the first signal instance of rivalry between the House of Hohenzollern and the House of Hapsburg.

Eitel Frederick left two sons: 1. Count Josse Nicolas, who succeeded his father in 1440; 2. Frederick, Canon of Strasburg.

About this period we learn that Frederick Œttinger undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In a document signed at Rhodes, bearing date June 13, 1443, Count Frederick makes a grant to John of Weissenberg. The Count never returned home, but died and was buried in Palestine in September, 1443.

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JOSSE NICOLAS, Count of Zollern.

Died in 1488.

Josse Nicolas, who succeeded his father Eitel Frederick, was for many years the only representative of the elder branch of the House of Zollern, and he devoted all his energies to increase the power and influence of the family. The Count of Würtemberg, who held in pledge several of the Zollern estates, acted as guardian to the young Count during his minority.

The Emperor Frederick III., wishing to restore the influence of Austria in Switzerland, now solicited the assistance of the French King, who sent the Dauphin Louis with a large force to aid the Emperor.

The French mercenaries were called Armagnacs, after the name of the man who raised them.

In a battle fought at Spital, near Basle, the French being completely worsted and compelled to retreat along the banks of the Rhine, were attacked by the garrison of Strasburg, who sallied forth and regained the banner taken from the Swiss at St. Jacob Spital. The Dauphin, seeing the folly of attempting to fight against a country of which the borders were defended with such obstinacy, promised not to march with his army through any part of the territory of the confederates, and offered his mediation between the hostile parties.

Count Josse Nicolas with his contingent, the Knights of St. George, took an active part in this war. The Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, of the House of Zollern, was also personally interested in these disputes on account of his

large domains in Suabia. The Margrave was distinguished by his great physical strength and wonderful gift of eloquence. His diplomatic talents also secured him great influence in the affairs of the empire. Albert Achilles took a lively interest in the prosperity of Zollern, and was on affectionate terms with the young Count Josse Nicolas.

Towards the end of the year 1445 Count Josse Nicolas married the Countess Agnes, daughter of the Count of Werdenberg-Heiligenberg. The happy union took place at Constance, under the auspices of Albert Achilles. Soon after, war again broke out between the nobles and the new alliance of the Suabian and Franconian cities. The Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg took an active part in the contest, particularly against the town of Nuremberg. The Margrave assembled a large army, and ravaged the territory adjoining the hostile towns. At length the imperial cities were forced to yield to the superior force of their adversaries, and their alliance was accordingly dissolved in the year 1454.

About this period Count Josse Nicolas determined to rebuild the castle of Hohenzollern, which for thirty years had remained a mass of ruins. Its reconstruction, begun by Eitel Frederick, had been hitherto prevented by the towns, which were now humbled and could offer no opposition. The attachment of Josse Nicolas to the Emperor, his relations with the Counts of Würtemberg, and the high influence of the Margrave Albert Achilles, favoured the execution of the long-projected scheme. Before undertaking the reconstruction of the castle, it was necessary to obtain the revocation of the edict by which the Emperor Sigismund had condemned it to remain a perpetual ruin. The Margrave Albert Achilles arranged the matter, and obtained the revocation of the edict. On the occasion of the foundation stone being laid, the princes present at the ceremony worked with their own hands, prepared the mortar, and used hammers and trowels of silver. Albert

Achilles of Brandenburg is said to have carried on his shoulders the foundation stone from the quarry. When the stone was being placed, two eagles were seen perched on the top of a rock in the vicinity. Under such favourable circumstances the castle rapidly rose from its ruins, and was finished about the year 1460. Four years before the completion of the castle of Hohenzollern, Josse Nicolas entered into an agreement with the Counts of Württemberg to recover the possessions pledged to them by his father.

The Counts of Württemberg agreed to accept a considerable sum of money on the Count undertaking to remain ever faithful to the House of Württemberg. In these negotiations he was supported by the Margrave Albert Achilles. He undertook to pay half of the money to Count Louis and a half to Count Ulric of Württemberg, and also to place his military force at the disposal of Count Ulric for three years.

During the time that Josse Nicolas was engaged in restoring the former influence of his house, Suabia was distracted by hostile factions, particularly during the absence of the Emperor Frederick III. at Rome, whither he had proceeded to be crowned Emperor, and to celebrate his nuptials with Eleanor of Portugal.

A still more serious conflict now arose in consequence of the ambitious and aggressive policy of the princes.

Frederick, Count of the Palatinate, surnamed by his enemies Fritz the Bad, a man of great firmness and decision of character, sided with the Princes of Upper Germany against the Emperor and Pope. Ulric of Württemberg and Charles of Baden, the allies of the Emperor thereupon invaded the Palatinate, which they devastated by fire and sword.

Frederick collected an army and defeated his opponents at the battle of Bockenheim, in 1460, where Ulric, Count of Württemberg, and George, Bishop of Metz, fell into his hands, and Albert Achilles was defeated. Louis of Bavaria

on this occasion captured the imperial banner. Peace was afterwards concluded between the contending parties. We are told that Frederick sumptuously entertained the captive princes, but refused to supply them with bread, as they had wantonly destroyed all the corn-fields. On their refusing to pay the ransom demanded, they were placed in the stocks, lightly clad, in a bitterly cold room. He demanded 100,000 florins for the ransom of Counts Ulric and Charles, and 45,000 for the Bishop of Metz.

Count Josse Nicolas, who took an active part in this war, also supported his father-in-law, Count Werdenberg, in his quarrel with Count John of Rechberg.

In 1467, the Emperor undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, in performance of a pious vow. On his return he found general discontent throughout the country, as the mercenaries engaged in his service had not been paid, and were committing violent excesses. The mercenaries solicited the intervention of Andreas Baum Richner, a confidential adviser of the Emperor, who, having attended a conference, was seized and beheaded by order of the Emperor.

During the Emperor's visit to Ratisbon, Josse Nicolas obtained an imperial edict, on the 15th of May, 1471, empowering him to coin money and to work the mines on his estates. About the same time he made a contract with the Arch-Duchess of Austria, by which several fiefs passed into the hands of the Counts of Zollern.

In the year 1474, after an absence of thirty years, the Emperor Frederick revisited Suabia, chiefly on account of the Diet he had summoned at Augsburg. The Emperor and his wife, Eleanor of Portugal, honoured the castle of Hohen-zollern with their presence. In commemoration of this visit, the apartments occupied by the royal party received the name "Imperial apartments," and one of the towers of the castle was called the Emperor's Tower. The united arms of Haps-

burg and Portugal were placed over the choir of the church of Hechingen by order of the Emperor. The marriage ceremony between the Princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern and Don Pedro of Portugal was celebrated in the chapel.

During Frederick III.'s visit to the south-west of Germany, Josse Nicolas was present in the Emperor's train. He had four sons, Eitel Frederick, Frederick Eitel, Frederick Albert, and Frederick John. His eldest son, Count Frederick, who had entered the Church, became Canon of Strasburg. The Emperor Frederick III., having lost a great part of his territory in Bohemia and Hungary, had now become unpopular; the country was threatened by an invasion of the Turks, and he sought to recover his lost influence by a matrimonial alliance.

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was now at the zenith of his power, and demanded the title of King at the hands of the Emperor. Frederick proposed to give his daughter, the Princess Mary, in marriage to Duke Charles, and with this object proceeded to Trèves, accompanied by a large retinue. The Duke of Burgundy was, however, averse to the match, and the Emperor quitted Trèves in disgust. Count Josse Nicolas, with the Margraves Charles and Christopher of Baden, and Counts Hugh and Ulric of Würtemberg, and many other knights of Suabia, accompanied Frederick in this journey to Trèves.

The tyrannical conduct of Peter von Hagenbach, governor of Alsace, had made the Burgundian rule detested by the Alsacians. This circumstance afforded the Emperor a good opportunity for taking up arms against Charles the Bold, who was at that time besieging Neuss. The Emperor was encamped before the town, and the two camps lay so close that balls fell into the Emperor's tent and carriage. The Duke of Burgundy agreed to a truce, which was negotiated in the name of the Duke by the Margrave of Baden, and in the

name of Frederick by Albert Achilles, Elector of Brandenburg.

This treaty, however, did not entirely end the Burgundian war, for Charles, upon quitting the Rhine Province, occupied the estates of the Duke René of Lorraine, and made war upon the confederate Swiss; but, while attempting to reduce Nancy by famine, he was attacked by the Swiss and Austrians, who had joined their former confederates, and was completely routed. His horse fell with him into a morass, where he was suffocated, and his frozen corpse was cut up with a hatchet, 1477.

Albert Achilles, accompanied by Eitel Frederick, put himself at the head of his Franconian troops and led them into the March, where a contest had arisen between John of Priebus and the Margrave John, son of Albert Achilles, relating to the inheritance of the duchy of Glogau. Before returning to his estates in Franconia, the Elector recompensed the services of the Counts of Zollern in a manner which showed his friendship for that house, and he gave in marriage the hand of the Princess Maud of Brandenburg to the young Count Eitel Frederick, the 28th of November, 1479. Thus were again united the two families of Zollern and Zollern-Nuremberg-Brandenburg. →Louis XI. attempted to seize the duchy of Burgundy on the death of Charles the Bold, but was prevented by the Swiss.

Mary of Burgundy now sought to unite herself in marriage with Maximilian, the handsomest youth of the day, of whom she is supposed to have become enamoured. The marriage, after some consideration, was resolved upon. Maximilian hastened to Ghent mounted on a brown steed, clothed in silver-gilt armour, his long fair hair crowned with a bridegroom's wreath, shining with pearls and precious stones: on his entering the city, he was met by his bride. The youthful pair, on beholding each other, knelt in the public street and

sank into each other's arms. "Welcome art thou, thou noble German," said the young Duchess, "whom I have so long desired and now behold with delight!"

This event greatly enraged the French monarch, who persuaded the Swiss to enter into an alliance with him. Maximilian defended in person Burgundy and the Low Countries, which rightly belonged to him after the death of Charles the Bold, by virtue of his marriage with his daughter, and succeeded in totally expelling the French troops from the Netherlands.

The campaign in the Low Countries was the cause of the death of two sons of Josse Nicolas: Count Frederick Albert and Count Frederick John fell victims to their courage and devotion to the imperial cause. The death of his two brave sons was a terrible blow to Josse Nicolas, and appears to have hastened the end of his career.

In the hopes of settling some of the disputes in his kingdom, Frederick III. summoned a Diet at Frankfort, in March, 1486. Public peace was proclaimed for the space of six years, and at the same time Frederick had the gratification of seeing his son elected King of the Romans.

At this Diet the Count Werdenberg, Count Josse Nicolas, and Count Eitel Frederick actively supported the Emperor in all his projects. In recompense for his fidelity Frederick conferred on Josse Nicolas the seigniory of Hohenburg. The episcopal see of Augsburg becoming vacant by the death of Bishop John, the Emperor conferred this dignity upon Count Frederick of Zollern, the eldest son of Josse Nicolas, who was Dean of the Chapter at Strasburg. The Sovereign Pontiff willingly gave his consent to the nomination of Count Frederick, who for twenty years governed his diocese like a true apostle. His body reposes in the chapel of St. Gertrude, which forms part of the choir in the cathedral of Augsburg. Towards the close of his life Josse Nicolas



endeavoured to found a new Suabian alliance, formed by the estates of the country, who had the will and strength to defend the people, respect their rights, and have the interests of the public peace at heart. This new alliance would also put an end to all preceding leagues between the nobility and the free cities. In the spring of the year 1487, at the Diet of Nuremberg, the Emperor sanctioned the project, and the Suabian estates, with the nobility and the cities, declared themselves willing to accede to this new alliance.

The House of Hohenzollern was represented on this occasion not only by Josse Nicolas, but also by his sons, Frederick, Bishop of Augsburg, and Eitel Frederick. The latter appeared in the retinue of the Elector John Cicero of Brandenburg, which shows that, even after the death of Albert Achilles, in 1486, friendly intercourse still continued between the two Zollern branches.

Josse Nicolas did not long survive his excellent friend and cousin, Albert Achilles. His presence at the Diet of Nuremberg was his last appearance in the councils of the Emperor. Profoundly regretted by the Emperor Frederick III. and by his subjects, Count Josse Nicolas breathed his last the 9th of February, 1488.

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**EITEL FREDERICK II.**

Eitel Frederick II., who succeeded, was also distinguished by the high place he held near the Emperor, and by the indefatigable zeal with which he followed in the footsteps of his illustrious father, and opened the glorious path to the offspring of the House of Hohenzollern now belonging to the present period.

The Flemish refused submission to the Hapsburgs, by whom their ancient liberties were neither understood nor respected. They seized the person of the young Duke Philip, whom they recognized as successor of the Princess Mary, who died in 1482. A revolt breaking out at Bruges, Maximilian was taken prisoner, and the councillors were put to the torture.

The Emperor summoned all the vassals of the empire in order to liberate his son, and the Pope sent a threatening message to the rebels. The first burgher of Ghent who fell into the Emperor's hands was nailed to a door and sent floating down the stream to Ghent, with the inscription, "Thus will be treated all who have imprisoned the Roman King." The defeat of the citizens of Bruges struck the rebels with dismay, and they set their royal prisoner at liberty on condition of his promising not to take revenge. Maximilian took the oath and retired into the Tyrol.

Frederick III. expired in the year 1493, no Emperor having reigned such a long period. Maximilian was declared his successor, and ascended the imperial throne.

In the twelfth century the Zollerns were allied with several powerful families; in the thirteenth, with the Imperial House of Hapsburg, the Ducal House of Saxony, the Margraves of Baden, Urach, Fribourg, Tübingen, Dettingen, Aichelberg, and Merckenberg. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the members of the House of Hohenzollern entered into matrimonial alliances with the most influential families of the German Empire, and thereby further increased their territory, wealth, and influence.

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## SYNOPSIS OF VOL. II.

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### CHAPTER I.

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